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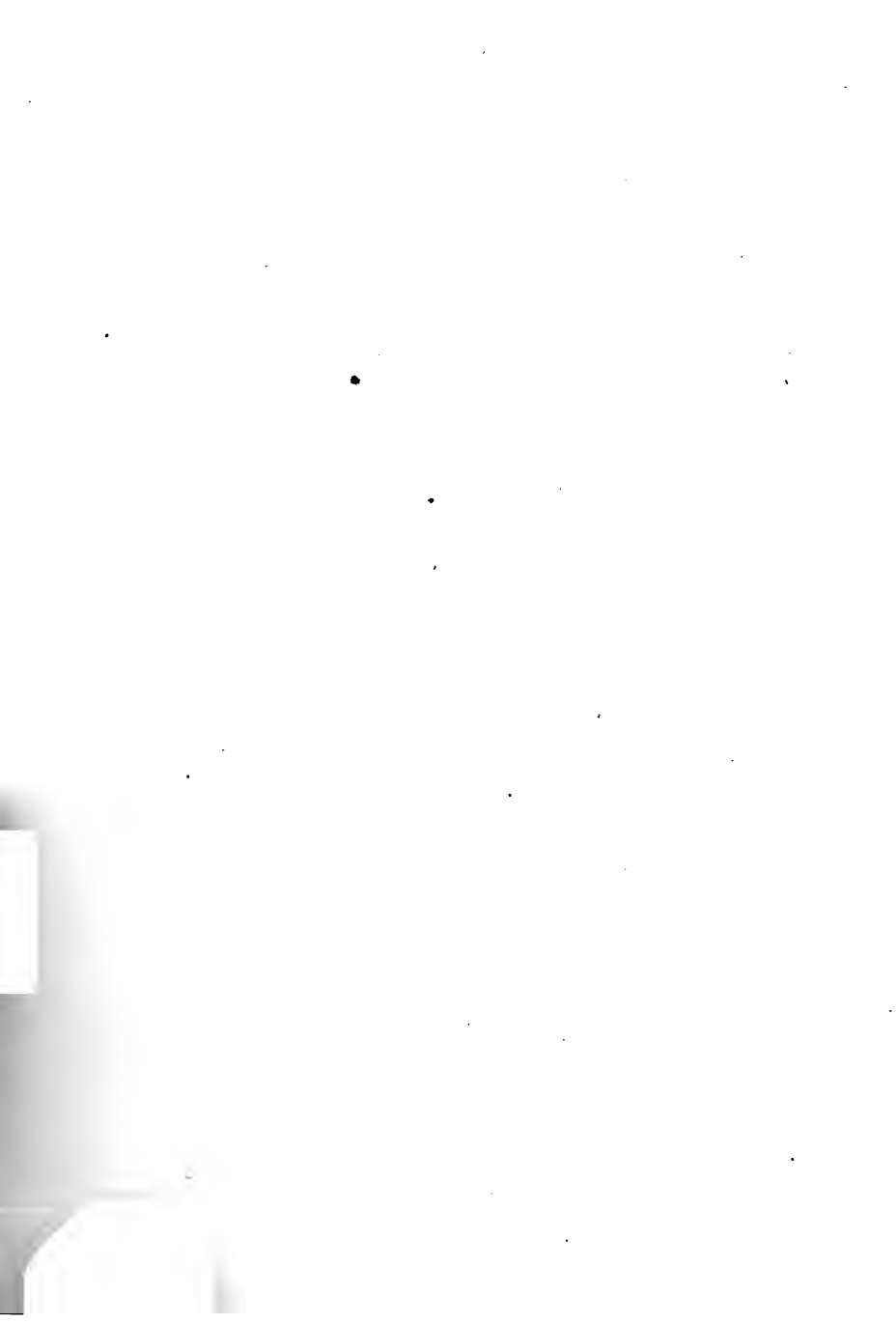
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STUDIES
IN
HISTORICAL METHOD

BY
MARY SHELDON BARNES

AUTHOR OF "STUDIES IN GENERAL AND AMERICAN HISTORY," AND
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY AT THE
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

*The essence of historical method is understanding by means of
investigation.*

— DROYSEN.

BOSTON, U.S.A.
D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS.
1899

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AS TO THE INTENT OF THIS BOOK.

THERE are many people who, perhaps, without being ambitious to write books or become college professors, would like to be careful and special students and teachers of the subject of history. For them I write, and especially for the teacher who wishes to specialize his work, and to see the world from this particular point of view. For as the material world grows smaller, and time and space condense, our intellectual world grows greater, its points of view become more numerous, more unobstructed, and so much more extensive, that in order to have any point of view at all, or get on top of the earth in any direction, we must choose some particular height as our own; do the best we can, it will take a good part of life to attain any high outlook.

To what can the teacher of history in the secondary schools aspire? In the field of information, to a fair general view of history plus a very special knowledge of some particular topic, as the history of his own locality if he is in the country, or as the history of the Napoleonic era if he is in a great city where libraries are rich and generous; in the field of investigation he can add to the sum of human knowledge along the lines indicated by the sub-studies given in this book. The whole field of our study in the direction of connecting the subject vitally with the pupil, as Miss Köhler has tried to do in her study entitled *How Children Remember History*, or of exploiting the exact worth of this or that source, as Mrs. Willard has attempted in the sub-study on the ballad, or of determining with exactness the strength and form of the various elements of the historical sense, as Miss Patterson has done in her

study on notions of time, is quite new, and invites attention from the teacher who has either originality or leisure.

If, however, the teacher is not so much by nature a student or investigator, but has rather the gift of adaptation, there is another field open in the way of preparing and presenting historical material in forms at once true to historical fact and to the nature of the child. Miss Nina Moore, in *Pilgrims and Puritans*, has given what seems an almost perfect model of this sort of work, — a piece of work scholarly, elegant, sympathetic alike to her sources and her audience.

The curse of secondary teaching is often the fact that after a year or two it provides no free outlet for the mind; but with the rapid development of departmental and individual work, the day is not far off when every one who chooses to teach, and who can protect himself from the insanity of overwork and the frivolity of scattered work, may hope to make his way out from the deadly treadmill of routine to join the life and motion of the greater world of knowledge.

My acknowledgments are due to Professor G. L. Burr of Cornell University, to Professor A. B. Show, and Mr. F. J. Teggart of Leland Stanford Junior University, for assistance in the bibliographical notes.

PART I.

METHOD AS DETERMINED BY THE NATURE OF HISTORY.

THE CONTENT OF HISTORY.

History is past politics; politics is present history. — *Freeman*.

History is but the record of individual action. — *Froude*.

History is humanity becoming and being conscious concerning itself. — *Droysen*.

Γεωμ — one who knows law and right; a judge; a witness.

Γεωπαι — a learning or knowing by inquiry. — *Liddell and Scott's Greek Dictionary*.

WHAT is history? Is there such a thing? After we have taken out political science, sociology, ethnology, the comparative study of literature, arts, and laws, does anything remain that we may call distinctively history? Is it the simple task of verifying the documents and dates on which these other sciences rest? Even in this field distinct bodies of scholarship have grown up about paleography, diplomatics, epistography, and chronology. The School of Charters in Paris, and similar schools in other centres of scholarship, are rapidly specializing all the study of evidence, so that about the sources of history legally trained specialists begin to swarm, and on them we must depend for the identification of documents and dates, the reading of manuscripts, the value of vocabularies.

Is there anything left after subtracting all these specialties which may be called history? Let us subject the remains of Greece to the process. Here a philologist works his life out on the dialects, fixes their relationships, develops the subtler meanings of the Greek

vocabulary, discovers the origins of Homer with more certainty, and has something authoritative to tell us of the early migrations; here the archæologist grubs at Delphi, and from long-buried foundations and remains reconstructs life on its material side; the sociologist and the student of institutions dissect the social and political structure distinctly out from the whole body of Greek literature and law; scholars edit exact texts from fragmentary inscriptions and palimpsests; every scrap of old Greek marble becomes inspiring and instructive for the art student and the critic; and yet in a general way we say these specialists all deal with and elucidate historical facts, as if there were some large inclusive unit called history. What, then, is that large inclusive unit which makes the buried tombs, the varying dialects, the Greek marbles, historic as well as archæologic, philologic, æsthetic? That large inclusive unit is the *authentic and related story of action progressive through time.*

- ✓ When we know how the old Greek spoke, dressed, ate, governed, or worshipped, there is still something left for us to know; namely, what he did, how he came to do it, and what good or harm resulted. Neither sociology, political science, nor paleography, concerns itself greatly with the Persian War, for instance. They leave aside all that class of events which we call action, that peculiar human product which uses speech, art, government, faith, as tools with which to work out a destiny, a character, a continuous change for better or worse. These elements are but the stuff from which the tools are made by which he builds an Athenian democracy, a Hellenic empire, and makes himself a Greek, in short. The special scholar gives us details. It is for the historian to use these in telling the story of the march, with its goal, its hardships and heroisms, its success or failure, its continuity of cause and effect. The ethnologist, philologist, and so on, bring stone and wood. It is for the historian to build, to gather these studies on Greek dialects, Greek antiquities, Greek art, into one proportioned and related whole; to wit, the history of the Greek. He is not to repeat what they have told, but to relate it. To the philologist the Greek is

all mouth, — he hears only his speech in Attic, Spartan, or Beotian twang; to the student of political science the Greek is but the creature of the demos or the tyrant; for the student of literature and art he sits all day in the theatre, or works all day at the frieze of the Parthenon; to the student of comparative religion he is the worshipper of Zeus, Athene, Dionysius; to the historian he must be all this, — the Greek of Attic, Spartan, or Beotian twang, democratized or tyrannized; now sitting all day in the theatre, now working all day at the marble, now sacrificing to the great gods. But he is besides all this, and because he is all this, the man of Marathon, the support of Pericles, the forlorn hope of the Greek leagues, the listener to Socrates, adding to human life an increment of freedom, beauty, and temperance, acting as cause and effect back and forth between the Greek generations.

✓ History bears thus the same relation to the special studies of society that biography bears to the special studies of the individual. Anatomy, psychology, and a crowd of special inquiries, crowd about impersonal man. Biography takes hold of the personal man, studies this anatomy and psychology in its action, — studies motive, progress, accomplishment, and method. So history deals with the social unit; it studies the progressive personality of a people, as it develops through environment and action into social success or failure. Take a great historic fact, like the development of the German Empire, and we find ourselves compelled to study institutions, environment, heredity, it is true, but to study all these things in the play of action and motive, and, above all, in their relation to the initiative of such forceful characters as Bismarck, and such unexpected events as Waterloo.

✓ Is not, then, the stream of events the peculiar content of history? The events are now literary, now political, now military, as the people fight, think, or feel; but all surge together in the flow of the great stream, always running on, bearing with it the freight of ages, to ages yet to come.

But is the historian to be the impassive spectator and impersonal

chronicler of the stream of events? Even so, he belongs to the ancient craft of Herodotus; a mirror clear and true of the sweep of the social stream. Better still if he have the power of art, the power to see relation, proportion, light, and shade; best of all if he have the power of insight, can see tendency and the subtle spirit of the time, the larger, clearer vision — the greater master.

But the spirit of the modern age, which has specialized, which looks after every detail with sharpest criticism, which has broken up the old Greek philosophy into a hundred fields of science, seems ready to turn its back on the old narrative history, and gives us, instead, a mass of edited documents, a collection of verified fragments, and says: There is all of the past that there is; make what you can of it. The time is surely gone by when the study of history can be pursued elsewhere than where the sources of history spring; documents and monuments mark the way. And the public presses after the scholar; is never content to be put off with the remains of yesterday: but, since it cannot spend all its time in the great necropolis of humanity, it asks of the scholar: What have you found that is of interest to us all? — what great mummied king, what great word in the manuscripts? How, then, work all these fragments into a connected and related whole? And yet is it not by the fragments alone that we know the course of the stream? May it not be that in the future the popular history will take the form not so much of the narrative as of the drama? A history of Greece will open with a series of pictures which will give us the setting of landscape and town in which the drama plays. Homer will begin the tale; Herodotus and Plutarch carry it on; Pericles, Socrates, Thucydides, will each take his turn before the audience in his own character and speech, while page after page pictures forth the glories of Greek art. Such a history is conceivable, although it will be a new form of literature altogether, and the literary talent required to produce it will be of the sort that feels sympathetically and surely the type of life, the soul of an action, the harmony and proportion

of all parts, and which is dominated above all by the clear vision of the whole stream of life, with an eye not to be caught too long by flotsam and jetsam floating on its surface.¹

THE SOURCES OF HISTORY.

THE original materials from which historians work are called *sources*. They correspond to fossils in geology, to cases in law, to words in philology; they are the remains of the past, from which all our knowledge of that past is derived. They consist of the mass of traditions, books, manuscripts, papers, relics, monuments, and institutions in which a generation embodies itself tangibly and visibly.

The animal mounds of Wisconsin, the graves at Gettysburg, the cathedrals of Europe, — these are monumental sources. All manner of relics — the Greek vase, the Irish bracelet, the old colonial uniform — are intimate sources by which we reconstruct personal life. The English Parliament, the Russian mir, the ceremonies of religion, are institutional sources: while of original written sources, the world seems alarmingly full; for here are classed letters, sermons, maps, newspapers, church and town records, autobiographies, diaries, inscriptions, the archives of governments. In short, the whole embodiment of a generation in descendants, institutions, creeds, and laws, in literature, speech, and set histories, in handiwork and art, is our source for its history, even more than that set and conscious product which it names its history. In this latter the generation is reproduced according to some notion of it formed by itself or others; what seems unnecessary or undesirable is omitted, because a history is necessarily written from some one point of view, — political, social, or religious. But in the sources, history finds its immortal material for its ever-renewed product. For the content and direction of history changes with every generation. If

¹ This chapter is reprinted from the *Annals of the American Academy* for July, 1895, with the kind permission of the publishers.

our ancestors, if the last generation, cared for political history, and found in political history its needed pabulum, we who need a social history need not despair because we find none written for our need, for the sources still are ours, — the forest, mine, and quarry, whence every generation may hew and delve its own peculiar treasure with tools that grow the sharper for the using, and a hand that grows more deft and cunning; and when social history shall be outgrown, there we shall find at our need the embodied life of the intellect or the feelings. These sources are the mothers of history, on which all historical narratives and judgments must rest, and to which all historical narratives and judgments must appeal.

It at once appears that, to make these sources accessible and intelligible, they must be collected and studied; we speak, therefore, first of collections, and second of schools.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, collections of sources have been made in every country of Europe. Among the most famous are the monuments of Germany (*Monumenta Germaniae*) and the Master of the Rolls series in England. These great collections are made only by governments, or by societies that command wealth and leisure. Their chief value is to advanced students of history, and they are only accessible in great and wealthy libraries. But within the last twenty years small collections of typical sources have begun to appear in every country. The following bibliography of these select collections does not attempt to include Continental publications, but is as complete as I can make it for English and American work. Additional titles will be gratefully accepted.

Gardiner, S. R., *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-1660*. Macmillan. \$2.25.

Hart, Albert Bushnell, and Channing, Edward (Harvard University), *American History Leaflets, colonial and constitutional*. Reprints of original documents that have become famous. 10 cents each. A. Lovell & Co., New York. Published bi-monthly.

Henderson, Ernest F., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. George Bell & Sons, London and New York, 1892. (In Bohn's Antiquarian Library.) Translated. \$1.50.

Masterpieces of American Eloquence and Illustrations of American History. Putnam. New York. \$2.75, subscription.

Mathews, Shailer, *Select Mediæval Documents and Other Material Illustrating the History of Church and Empire, 754 A.D.-1254 A.D.* Silver, Burdett, & Co., New York, Boston, Chicago. 1892. In Latin. \$1.00.

Old South Leaflets. Published by Directors of the Old South Studies in History, Old South Meeting House, Boston. 5 cents apiece. Edited by Edwin D. Mead.

These leaflets deserve special note as the first attempt in the United States to popularize sources. The Old South Work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as these. The aim is to bring valuable historical documents, often not easily accessible, within easy reach of everybody. There are at present fifty-five leaflets in the series, and others will rapidly follow. The following are typical titles:—

No. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 5. Magna Charta. 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage. 18. The Swiss Constitution. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Narrative, 1670. 31. The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. 33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery. 35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. 42. Garfield's Address on the Northwest Territory and the Western Reserve. 50. Winthrop's Conclusions for the Plantation in New England.

Preston, Howard W., *Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1863.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street, New York. \$2.50.

Contents: First Virginia Charter, 1606; Second Virginia Charter, 1609; Third Virginia Charter, 1612; Mayflower Compact, 1620; Ordinance for Virginia, 1621; Massachusetts Charter, 1629; Maryland Charter, 1639; Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1639; New England Confederation, 1643; Connecticut Charter, 1662; Rhode Island Charter, 1663; Pennsylvania Charter, 1681; Penn's Plan of Union, 1697; Georgia Charter, 1732; Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754; Declaration of Rights, 1765; Declaration of Rights, 1774; Non-Importation Agreement, 1774; Mecklenburgh Resolutions, 1775; Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776; Declaration of Independence, 1776; Articles of Confederation, 1776; Treaty of Peace, 1783; Constitution, 1787; Alien and Sedition Laws, 1798; Virginia Resolutions, 1798; Kentucky Resolutions, 1798; Kentucky Resolutions, 1799; Nullification Ordinance, 1832; Ordinance of Secession, 1860; South Carolina Declaration of Independence, 1860; Emancipation Proclamation, 1863.

Powell, F. York, *English History from Contemporary Writers.* A series published in London by David Nutt; and in New York by Putnam's Sons. [Now discontinued by the latter.] From the prospectus of its editor we quote the following:—

"To each well-defined period of our history is given a little volume made up of extracts from the chronicles, State papers, memoirs, and letters of the time, as also from other contemporary literature, the whole chronologically arranged, and chosen so as to give a living picture of the effect produced upon each generation by the political, religious, social, and intellectual movements in which it took part."

Prothero, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* Macmillan. \$2.60.

Sheldon, Mary D., *Studies in General History* (1000 B.C. to 1890 A.D.). \$1.75. *Studies in Greek and Roman History.* \$1.10. *Studies in American History.* \$1.25. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 1885-1891.

These text-books are the only attempt made as yet to introduce sources into a school manual.

Stedman, Edmund Clarence, and Hutchinson, Ellen MacRay, editors, *Library of American Literature from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time.* Published by subscription, in 10 vols., by William Evarts Benjamin. \$3.00 a volume.

An invaluable collection for American history.

Stubbs, William, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History to the Reign of Edward the First.* Oxford. 1874. \$2.25.

University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History.* Philadelphia, 1894, etc. Price 15 cents a number. For prospectus, terms, etc., address Dana C. Munro, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. This series contains translations of original documents in the fields of English and Continental history. Numbers have appeared already on the French Revolution, the Crusades, the Reformation, the English Constitution, the Reaction after 1815, the Napoleonic Era, the Social Life of England.

These small collections of select sources are found in Germany under the title of *Quellenbücher*; as an example, we instance the *Quellenbuch* edited by Albert Richter, for instruction in German history, and covering the whole period from Cæsar to the Emperor William I, published at Leipsic in 1885. A series has also been selected and edited from the *Monumenta Germaniae*, under the title: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis Recusi, Hannover, 1878*, etc.

In French history, the excellent series edited by B. Zeller, and published by Hachette since 1880, under the general title, *L'his-*

toire de France racontée par les contemporains, covers the whole of French history down to modern times, and is sold, in spite of many original illustrations from the sources, at the price of half a franc a number.

In American history, a bibliography of manuscript sources is given by Winsor in volume viii of his *Narrative and Critical History of America*. The critical chapter following each narrative chapter in this same work gives the best bibliography of printed sources extant on the special topic treated. In English history, Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, gives at the head of each chapter short titles for the sources on which the chapter is based. Much more exhaustive is J. Bass Mullinger's critical and biographical account of authorities given in the latter half of Samuel R. Gardiner's *English History for Students* . . . Kegan Paul, London, 1881. The catalogue of the Bohn libraries, furnished by Macmillan, will give a long and valuable list of translated sources illustrative of Greek, Roman, Mediæval, and English History. The best general bibliography of sources known to me is that of Bernheim, who gives a very exhaustive list of collections of sources, pp. 188–202, and 436–438 of his *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*, Leipsic, 1894.

The study of the sources has developed new sciences: the comparative study of words, or philology; of manuscript writings, or paleography; of inscriptions, or epigraphy; of official documents, or diplomatics; of remains, or archæology. This growth of new sciences in turn demands new schools and new apparatus. In general, we may say that the German *Seminarium* is devoted to these studies of sources. The key-notes of this institution are two: first, that the material used consists of sources; and, second, that the work of the student is the independent, and, wherever possible, the original investigation of these materials. The seminary is now thoroughly adopted in our own country, and follows the same ideal as in Germany. Johns Hopkins University was the first to develop the seminary in the line of American local history, the

field where the American student can most readily obtain access to sources, and at the same time really add to the sum of human knowledge. In France, the *École des Chartes* in Paris is organized with the aim of training young men who shall be able to edit, verify, and interpret the sources of history.

Another form of school developed by the study of the sources appears in the Archæological Stations established at Rome, Athens, and other places. These are but the beginnings of a great development of such schools, to be stationed wherever the earth itself has much to yield to the historical student. Such stations should in our own country be established in Arizona, New Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, and wherever the mass of sources is immovably local.

The worker in sources collects, classifies, dates, and places them, verifies their authenticity, gives them a legible, clean, trustworthy form. The historian then selects such materials as bear on his own set work; from these, in turn, he chooses the forms most typical and complete, and interprets them with such truth as his own genius and sympathy permit. For instance, if he is a Parkman, he will first collect all the relations of the Jesuits; from these he will take those which relate to old Canada; from these he will select those written by the most devoted and observing Jesuits, and by those who were longest in their chosen field. From these selected types he will render to the modern world that epic of heroism called the *Jesuits in North America*.

THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

It will readily be seen that if any one wishes to study history from the sources, he must either have recourse to collections ready made, or to the field of local and contemporary history. In fact, away from great libraries, these are the only possible openings for original historical work. Contemporary history has the great advantage of being living history, involving the questions of the day; its sources are those on which the adult citizen must contin-

ually construct his own judgments, — judgments which underlie the history of the future. The newspaper, the magazine, the living man and woman, the growing connection of events, — all these are our own constant sources of information; and if the teacher himself has had a good training in history, it is a part of his work to train his students as far as he can to weigh this contemporary evidence, estimate its comparative values, learn to judge of character, recognize the causes and forms of personal bias, and form independent and thoughtful judgments, or, what is sometimes more to the purpose, learn to suspend his judgment altogether for want of sufficient evidence. In such a course, too, the student should learn how to help himself in a great library to the material which bears on the most recent questions. He should learn the use of cyclopædias, atlases, catalogues, Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, with its supplements, the *Statesman's Year Book*, and similar aids.

A former student of mine, Mr. Adrian Yarrington, has developed this field very successfully in the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn. I quote from the *Brooklyn Citizen* of May 22, 1895, the following passage descriptive of his work: —

Another room, No. 13, is given up to history and civics, of which Mr. A. M. Yarrington is instructor. Almost the same system is adopted here, and the boys and girls are made to think. When they get through, they can tell why they are Democrats, Republicans, Mugwumps, Socialists, or Populists, or anything else. They take up the President's speech, paste it on the edge of sheets of foolscap, and annotate it. They draw maps of countries referred to, and tell the history of those countries. Under the head of "Who was He, and What did He do for Progress?" is a collection of biographies of Jefferson, Clinton, Madison, Lincoln, Jackson, and other well-known men; while down in the corner of the blackboard is tacked a paper on the "Effect of High Wages and Shorter Hours of Production," by "Wells," evidently a young man. From a hasty glance at the contents, the writer is satisfied that Mr. Wells is on the right path. There is exhibited a bunch of debates on "Free Trade and Protection;" while a lot of charts show the "Rise and Fall of Political Parties."

Mr. Yarrington has charge, also, of the *News*; and the exhibit in the Assembly Hall is one of the most interesting in the school. Here is the Pratt

Institute *Daily News* with illustrated blackboard supplements. The *News* is written by some boys and girls assigned as editors. They arrive at school early enough to read the papers, and write on the blackboard epitomes of the larger news of the day. Then the editors have to answer questions of history, and draw maps, and be subjected to criticism by the whole school, very much like real editors; the only difference being that real editors have the advantage of their critics, for they have waste-baskets for letters and things. The visitor will see some examples of the news in the "Growth of Our Navy," "Troubles in the Far East," "The Cuban Insurrection," "Trolley-Car Fenders," etc. In this hall, also, are ballots, returning-forms, and voting-booths, used by the school in its annual election; for there is one held every year, previous to that of November, and it is usually a reflex of what the older people feel.

I am inclined to think that some study of this sort should be made in every school where history is taught. For assistance in this work, the following bibliographical notes for helps in current history may prove useful.

For official statistics, figures, and facts, see: —

The Statesman's Year Book, Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1894. Edited by J. Scott Keltie, Assistant Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. Revised after official returns. London, Macmillan. Published annually since 1863. \$3.00. Indispensable for Europe.

The Annual Statistician and Economist. San Francisco and New York. L. P. McCarty. Published annually since 1889.

American Almanac and Treasury of Facts, Statistical, Financial, and Political, for the year 1894. Edited by Ainsworth R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress. New York and Washington. Published annually since 1878. The continuation of a similar publication begun in 1830, under the title of *American Almanac*. Perhaps the most valuable single publication of this sort for the American teacher.

Hazell's Annual for 1894: A Cyclopædic Record of Men and Topics of the Day. Containing above 3,500 concise and explanatory articles on every topic of current political, social, biographical, and general interest referred to by the press and in daily conversation. Edited by E. D. Price, F.G.S., assisted by a large number of contributors, and including some of the most eminent specialists of the day. Sixth year of issue. London, 1891.

To keep track of government publications, see: —

Ames, John G., *Comprehensive Index of the Publications of the United States Government*, 1889-1893. Washington, 1894.

Catalogue of Publications, issued by the Government of the United States, appearing monthly. Washington, government printing-office.

Comparative Summary and Index of State Legislation in 1894. State Library Bulletin. Albany, N.Y. No. 5 appeared in January of 1895.

Eyre and Spottiswoode, East Harding Street, Fleet Street, E. C., London, will send, on application, priced catalogues of the late important publications of the English Government, or lists on special topics.

For current biography, see : —

The Century Dictionary of Proper Names. A pronouncing and etymological dictionary of names in geography, biography, history, ethnology, art, archæology, fiction, etc. Edited by Benjamin E. Smith, Managing Editor of *The Century Dictionary*. The Century Company, New York. \$12.50. Second Edition.

Phillips, Laurence B., *The Dictionary of Biographical Reference*, together with a classed index of the biographical literature of Europe and America. Philadelphia, 1889.

Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*. Titled on back as *Lippincott's Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary*. Philadelphia, 1886. One volume, \$12.00; two volumes, \$15.00. The standard dictionary of this sort in English.

Wilson, James Grant, and Fiske, John, *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*. Appleton's, 1888-1889. 6 vols. \$30.00.

For geography, see : —

Bartholomew, J., F.R.G.S., *The Library Reference Atlas of the World*. A complete series of 84 modern maps, with geographical index to 100,000 places. Folio, half morocco. \$18.00, net. Macmillan's. There is also a small pocket atlas, at \$1.25, by the same author and publisher.

Rand, McNally, & Co.'s *Atlases*. These are practical, and generally accessible, and range in price from 25 cents to \$40.00.

[Since new editions are constantly appearing of the above works, care should be taken in purchasing, to insist always on the latest in the market.]

Poole's *Index*, with its supplements, is the standard guide to periodical literature, and it is to be found in any library where any number of periodicals is taken. Every great English review deals with the questions of the day, and will keep its readers up to date. For this specific purpose of the teacher of history, nothing will serve his purpose better than the *Review of Reviews*. This not only gives a view of the world's progress and change, but also gives

short reviews of leading articles in the chief periodicals, and their tables of contents month by month. It should be owned and read by every teacher who undertakes any work in contemporary history. Of the great English reviews, I am inclined to think that the *Contemporary* will be the most useful single one. Of newspapers, let me recommend the *London Weekly Times* to one who would sweep the world.

THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY.

STUDIES in contemporary history are, from the nature of the case, tentative, general, and fitted to train citizens rather than scholars. The training for the scholar is rather to be looked for in the field of local history, where he can most nearly come face to face with all the sources, and obtain the best training that history has for him in accuracy, the nice weighing of evidence, the sympathetic interpretation of the past. In the second place, through local history the citizen finds a close and intimate connection with general history. The hills and valleys of his childhood take on the glamour of romance that always comes from the touch of a bygone life. Here the Indians smoked about their council-fires; here passed a Spanish knight, armed *cap-a-pie*; here a pioneer first broke the soil, and stood ready, gun in hand, to protect his home from all invaders, whether wild beasts or wild men; here men sprang armed to conflict; here they suffered and died for liberty, independence, or perchance for human freedom. Memories like these add beauty, pathos, and meaning to the poorest landscape, and give to common life the touch of poetry. The traveller in Europe realizes this as he sees the pride and love with which the common people look upon their historic monuments. The great Cathedral of Siena, the exquisite bronzes of Florence, the memories of Tell among the Swiss mountains, of Napoleon and Louis the Great in Paris, — from these spring poetry and wonder for the child, and environ life with an atmosphere of charm which always lingers in his mind and eye.

In America our local history has not yet received its full development. We have been careless of our monuments and relics, which, to be sure, are of a different sort from those of Europe, though no less interesting and important to preserve; we have as yet no growth of song and story clinging like green vines about the broken fragments of the past; worst of all, we do not know our local history. All this the teacher can do much to change.

First, then, let him ask himself: What are the connections of my city, town, or vicinity with the general history of the country? Take, for instance, my own native place, Oswego, a dull little city on our northern frontier, lying asleep by the blue waters of Ontario. Commonplace enough it looks, and no great man and no great deed has signalized it; but let me tell you its connections. First of all, its Indians were the fierce Iroquois, best of all the fighting tribes: their songs and traditions still live among their descendants; their manners and customs, their village and forest life, are minutely described in the relations of the Jesuits; in the soil are still found their arrow-heads, and on their reservations they still make their primitive wares and fabrics. In the Colonial period, we have connections with Champlain, the Jesuits, and the fur-traders. There was still a trace of the old French settlement left when I was a child. There are old maps to be seen, showing Oswego as a wilderness, with a fort, a river, a few canoes and huts. In the French and Indian War we were an important frontier post, for which the French and British fought back and forth. Of the old forts there still remain the well-authenticated sites. With the Revolution we had but little connection, but with its close the period of our growth began. We were in the current of the great commercial and industrial wave which came from the opening of the Welland and the Erie Canals. The lake was white with sails, and every wind blew us in the lumber of Michigan and the wheat of Ohio and Illinois. In memory of this time still stands our noble lighthouse and the long stone pier, badly fallen to ruin, the green grass springing up between the stones, and old wharves, grass-grown

too, where idle boys fish long afternoons in the sun, while the tall elevators have one by one been turned to other uses, or have fallen to decay; for our importance and wealth passed away with the opening of the railroad, whose great line of the Central passed to the south of us. Our fine canal, with its locks, suffered decay as well; and the old taverns, with their wide piazzas, were deserted and haunted places. Still life went on in Oswego, and when the Civil War came we sprang to arms with the North. Our fields were white with tents; in a long shed on the lake shore our soldiers ate their rations; along our streets they marched away with tears and loud huzzas. To many and many a house came back the story of its hero, freezing, fighting, starving, dying for what he deemed the right. We children picked lint for the hospitals; one of our women marched away with her husband, and became a nurse, well remembered and much beloved. A stanch old preacher, white-haired and ruddy-faced, almost worshipped by his people, prayed every Sunday to the God of battles to strengthen the hands and the hearts of the North.

But I need go no further, though this by no means tells the story of the dull little town. What I have said indicates the lines of inquiry; the next thing is to see what the Oswego teacher will do with all this wealth at his command. We have already seen the value and the power of the source in history; the Oswego teacher in Oswego can use this for all that it is worth. In the library he will find four great volumes of the documentary history of New York. In these volumes the old maps, the old Jesuit relations, the lists of New York governors, the old military reports, are all embodied. He will set the children hunting there; ask one to find the first map which has Oswego placed upon it; another to find who were the first people who came there, and what they came for; suck these books dry of all they can tell about Oswego. He will go with his pupils to the county clerk's office, and see what they can find there of the early government, of the first mayor, of the first common council, the first board of education; above all,

they will hunt up the old maps of the city. He will take his pupils to the fort, let them see why it is placed well for defence; take them to the soldiers' graveyard, lying desolate on the hill, and let them wander among the graves and read the old inscriptions; take them along the wharves and the pier, and, setting them in the sun, let them write out, pencil and paper in hand, as well as they can, a description of how it looked in 1830, — what features of the picture were emphasized then, and what have vanished; what have been added; or perhaps a contrast of 1830 with 1896. He will set them to ransack their own homes for old letters, old newspapers, old relics, old bits of pottery, old costume, old weapons. He will ask some old soldier of the Civil War to come to the school and tell his story of the camp and the field.

This work with the sources must precede all else, and much of it is especially fitted to be the very first work done in history. Even young children will appreciate the expeditions to points of interest, and will get something of the feeling of history. The next work is for the teacher and his pupils to reconstruct the local history and give it its connections. After the material is all gathered, comes the time to question it, and embody the answers in essays, classified collections, public exercises, note-books, and all the rest of the paraphernalia of study.

The questions which should guide this last work in the case of Oswego would be something as follows: —

What was the Indian population here? What were their manners and customs, their thoughts and beliefs? What was their welcome to the white man, and what has become of them now?

Who were the first explorers and settlers? Where did they come from, and by what routes? Why did they come? Why did they settle in this particular place? What was their character, their education, their ideals, their faith? How did they make a living in their new home?

Had we any connection with any of the wars of the Republic? Were any of our people at Valley Forge, at Yorktown, at Lundy's

Lane, at Gettysburg? Who were our heroes in these wars? Again, What connections have we had with the political, intellectual, and artistic world? Has there been a scholar, a statesman, a poet, who was born in Oswego, or who loved Oswego as a home?

I have been thus particular about questions which should be asked, because I could thus most easily reveal the wealth which this vein of local history may possess.

One important outcome of these local studies should be the formation of local historical collections. These should be the result of the joint labors of the pupils and teachers of the whole locality, working together in a club. This museum should gather to itself the visible remains of the whole history. It should contain Indian relics, pictures of native Indians, photographs of historic sites and buildings, all the historic maps of the locality, photographs or other pictures of citizens who have been prominent at critical periods, old costumes and uniforms, old dishes, utensils, tools, coins, stamps, and portraits, — everything, in short, which serves as a material link between then and now. There, too, should be found the files of local newspapers, made as complete as possible, and as soon as possible firmly bound. Letters, diaries, manuscripts, which have a local historic value should be collected and bound, or preserved in legible and authentic copies, the originals being preserved for the occasional reference of scholars. All the literature that has gathered about the place should also be gotten together, — any poems, novels, biographies, which celebrate the place or its citizens. The old people, the old soldiers, should write out or dictate their recollections, and these manuscripts be added to the local collections.

There is still another class of sources we should save from oblivion, — those of our foreign immigrants. In every town, in every place, there is a large body of European immigrants. Where did they come from? Have they any pictures of their old homes? Why did they select this for their new home? What differences do they find between the old and the new? Perhaps they were

Irish driven out by famine, Germans driven out by the conscription, Italians by heavy taxes and an extreme of poverty of which we do not dream. In nine cases out of ten their stories will be found to have interest and meaning, and should find a niche of their own in the museum and library of local history.

But should we, in local history, deal with all the dull periods, make it a point to know the history thoroughly year by year, or deal with the salient points, the vital connections? Are we to mention such details as the smuggling of a dozen silk handkerchiefs or a bushel of salt, or the complaint of a citizen that his street is not kept in good order, or that there was a squabble in the court-room on such a day, or that John Mulligan, a native of Tullybamman, Ireland, came to live in Syracuse?

As teachers, we must deal with salient points, with points of vital growth and large connection. But in order to gain these points, to make these connections, somebody must search through large masses of material that may seem of very little use, and may yield little of significance. But there lies the way. If we are to know that at a certain time, in a certain place, men lived without law and order, until their misery and confusion drove them to some effective government, you can only reach this conclusion, if you are working with the sources, by reading in detail about this bushel of salt smuggled in, that fatal quarrel that ended with a shot, the disappearance of this herd of horses, rifling and murder on this or that lonely ranch. Or if you would know that the population of a certain place came mostly from Ireland or from Spain, how can you know it except from just such details as you may learn from the tombstone or the marriage record, — in short, from such details as that John Mulligan, native of Ireland, came to live in Syracuse? The pettiness disappears when the petty detail is one of a thousand strokes that paints a great and true picture. Or supposing that the petty detail is essentially petty, has no significance in proportion to the general whole, is but a splash of paint on the wall, — is it not worth something to learn what to reject as well as what to

accept? to know what has no worth as well as to know what has a story to tell, a place in a picture?

So local history has its place in study and teaching, — a place which nothing else can fill. There lies, finally, the labor, the reality, the very ground of history. There the citizen finds his home in the great world of time as well as in the great world of space. There he learns how to interpret history through the toil and heroism of some few men whose works he has seen, whose words he has read, in whose footsteps he himself daily treads.

The Old South Work is the pioneer and feeder of all this local work in connection with the schools and the general public, as Johns Hopkins University has been for such work in the universities. Its founder, Mrs. Mary Hemenway of Boston, saw that the life of history lay in its personal connections with what is here and now and still alive in us. The Old South lecturers have told their story in the very places where the story was enacted; the Old South Leaflets have given into every hand the very words of those who saw or acted it; and historical pilgrimages and historical explorations are following in the track of the lectures and the leaflets. But local work, from its very nature, demands many centres of independent life; and perhaps we are waking even now to the idea that not alone in Boston and Virginia, and not alone by Puritans and Cavaliers, has our great past been lived; but that the hunters of Kentucky, the zealots of Kansas, the fur-hunters of St. Louis, the miners of California, the farmer-pioneers of an ever-advancing frontier, have also been our founders; that not alone to courtesy and thrift and upright piety were we born, but also to independence, daring energy, bold invention, and adventure.

But shall we begin history here and now with the local and contemporary? On the one hand, such reasons urge for it as have been given above, — reasons of interest, nearness, completeness, and training. On the other hand, the logical connection of events appears most simply and clearly in following their evolution through time. So they happened; so we wish to see them. The

inquiry after cause and effect, the sense of time, find a far greater satisfaction in beginning as far back as possible, and in watching the simple unit widen its life through generations. Again, early life is simpler and more primitive, and so nearer the simpler, more intense life of the young. The child can understand Jason going after the golden fleece far better than he can the Tammany Tiger. Again, local and contemporary history have no meaning without some view of their connections through the long course of time, and on the wide field of the whole earth. The teacher at least must know these connections before making the least attempt at local or contemporary history. But, after all, this is *a priori* reasoning; and the question is one to be settled by experiments and observations, which capable persons are most sincerely urged to try. According to Stubbs, even from the point of view of training citizens, it is better to deal with ancient and mediæval history, where the judgment may strengthen itself outside the reach of prejudice.

SPECIAL STUDY ON BALLADS AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

REPORT BY MRS. HATTIE MASON WILLARD.

AMONG the tempting and accessible sources in English history are the ballads. They are stirring and interesting; they purport to be historical, — but are they? How far are they safe to use as sources? One of my advanced students, Mrs. Hattie Mason Willard, made a special study of this question last year, taking nine authentic ballads of the age of Queen Elizabeth, and comparing each of them carefully with the most trustworthy historical sources accessible. This study is based entirely on her work.

The comparative character of ballad and history appears clearly in the following comparison of the ballad of *Andrew Barton* with the parallel passages taken from the most authentic chronicles of the period for the events treated. The material is taken from Part vi. of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, edited by

Francis James Child, Boston (1889), pp. 335-342. The ballad runs as follows:—

1. As itt beffell in m(l)dsuner-time,
When burds singe sweetlye on euery tree,
Our noble king, King Henery the Eighth,
Ouer the riuer of Thames past hee.
2. Hee was no sooner ouer the riuer,
Downe in a fforrest to take the ayre,
But eighty merchants of London cittye
Came kneeling before King Henery there. . . .
4. 'To Ffrance nor Fflanders dare we nott passe,
Nor Burdeaux voyage wee dare not ffare,
And all ffor a ffalse robber that lyes on the seas,
And robb(s) vs of our merchants-ware.' . . .
6. 'He is a proud Scott that will robb vs all
If wee were twenty shippes and hee but one.'
7. The king looket ouer his left shoulder,
Amongst his lords and barrons soe free:
'Haue I neuer lord in all my realme
Will feitch yond traitor vnto mee?'
8. 'Yes, that dare I!' sayes my lord Chareles Howard,
Neere to the king wheras hee did stand;
'If that Your Grace will giue me leaue,
My selfe wilbe the only man.'
9. 'Thou shalt haue six hundred men,' saith our king,
'And chuse them out of my realme soe free;
Besids marriners and boyes,
To guide the great shipp on the sea.' . . .
17. With pikes, and gunnes, and bowemen bold,
This noble Howard is gone to the sea
On the day before midsummer-euen,
And out att Thames mouth sayled they. . . .

[As for Andrew Barton:—]

27. 'Hee is brasse within, and steele without,
And beames hee beares in his topcastle stronge;
His shipp hath ordinance cleane round about;
Besids, my lord, hee is verry well mand.

28. 'He hath a pinnace, is deerlye dight,
Saint Andrews crosse, that is his guide ;
His pinnace beares nine score men and more,
Besids fifteen cannons on euery side. . . .'
36. 'Now by my ffaith,' sais Charles, my lord Haward,
'Then yonder Scott is a worthye wight.'
37. 'Take in your ancyents and your standards,
Yea that no man shall them see,
And put me fforth a white willow wand,
As merchants vse to sayle the sea.'
38. But they stirred neither top nor mast,
But Sir Andrew they passed by :
'Whatt English are yonder,' said Sir Andrew,
'That can so little curtesye ?
39. 'I haue beene admirall ouer the sea
More than these yeeres three ;
There is neuer an English dog, nor Portingall,
Can passe this way without leaue of mee.
40. 'But now yonder pedlers, they are past,
Which is no little greffe to me :
Ffeich them backe,' sayes Sir Andrew Bartton,
'They shall all hang att my maine-mast tree.'
41. With that the pinnace itt shott of,
That my Lord Haward might itt well ken ;
Itt stroke downe my lords fforemast,
And killed fourteen of my lord his men. . . .
63. But att Sir Andrew hee shott then ;
Hee made sure to hitt his marke ;
Vnder the spole of his right arme
Hee smote Sir Andrew quite throw the hart.
64. Yett ffrom the tree he wold not start,
But he clinged to itt with might and maine ;
Vnder the coller then of his iacke,
He stroke Sir Andrew thorrow the braine.
65. 'Ffight on, my men,' sayes Sir Andrew Bartton,
'I am hurt, but I am not slaine :
I'le lay mee downe and bleed a-while,
And then I'le rise and fight againe.

66. 'Ffight on, my men,' sayes Sir Andrew Bartton,
 'These English Doggs they bite soe lowe ;
 Ffight on ffor Scotland and Saint Andrew
 Till you heare my whistle blowe !'
67. But when the[y] cold not heare his whistle blowe,
 Sayes Harry Hunt, I'le lay my head
 You may bord yonder noble shipp, my lord,
 For I know Sir Andrew hee is dead.
68. With that they barded this noble shipp,
 Soe did they itt with might and maine :
 The ffound eighteen score Scotts aliuie,
 Besids the rest were maimed and slaine.
69. My lord Haward tooke a sword in his hand,
 And smote of Sir Andrews head ;
 The Scotts stood by did weepe and mourne,
 But neuer a word durst speake or say. . . .
71. With his head they sayled into England againe,
 With right good will, and fforce and main,
 And the day beffore Newyeeres euen,
 Into Thames mouth they came againe. . . .

Three contemporary chronicles record the same event. These chronicles relate as follows:—

I. Hall's Chronicle, 1548. In June (1511), the king being at Leicester, tidings were brought to him that Andrew Barton, a Scottish man and a pirate of the sea, saying that the king of Scots had war with the Portingales, did rob every nation, and so stopped the king's streams that no merchants almost could pass, and when he took the Englishmen's goods, he said they were Portingales' goods, and thus he haunted and robbed at every haven's mouth. The king, moved greatly with this crafty pirate, sent Sir Edmund Howard, Lord Admiral of England, and Lord Thomas Howard, son and heir to the Earl of Surrey, in all the haste to the sea, which hastily made ready two ships, and without any more abode took the sea, and by chance of weather were severed. The Lord Howard, lying in the Downs, perceived where Andrew was making toward Scotland, and so fast the said lord chased him that he overtook him, and there was a sore battle. The Englishmen were fierce, and the Scots defended them manfully, and ever Andrew blew his whistle to encourage his men, yet for all that, the Lord Howard and his men, by clean

strength, entered the main deck; then the Englishmen entered on all sides, and the Scots fought sore on the hatches, but in conclusion Andrew was taken, which was so sore wounded that he died there; then all the remnant of the Scots were taken, with their ship, called *The Lion*. All this while was the Lord Admiral in chase of the bark of Scotland called *Jenny Pirwyn*, which was wont to sail with *The Lion* in company, and . . . he laid him on board and fiercely assailed him, and the Scots, as hardy and well stomached men, them defended; but the Lord Admiral so encouraged his men that they entered the bark and slew many, and took all the other. Then were these two ships taken, and brought to Blackwall the second day of August, and all the Scots were sent to the Bishop's place of York, and there remained, at the king's charge, till other direction was taken for them. . . .

II. Buchanan, about twenty years later, writes to this effect. . . . Henry was easily persuaded, and dispatched his admiral, Thomas Howard, with two of the strongest ships of the royal navy, to lie in wait at the Downs for Andrew, then on his way home from Flanders. They soon had sight of the Scot, in a small vessel, with a still smaller in company. Howard attacked Andrew's ship, but, though the superior in all respects, was barely able to take it after the master and most of his men had been killed. The Scots captain, though several times wounded and with one leg broken by a cannon-ball, seized a drum and beat a charge to inspirit his men to fight until breath and life failed. The smaller ship was surrendered with less resistance, and the survivors of both vessels, by begging their lives of the king (as they were instructed to do by the English), obtained a discharge without punishment. . . .

III. Bishop Lesley, writing at about the same time as Buchanan, openly accuses the English of fraud. "In the month of June," he says, "Andrew Barton, being on the sea in warfare contrar the Portingals, against whom he had a letter of mark, Sir Edmund Howard, Lord Admiral of England, and Lord Thomas Howard, son and heir to the Earl of Surrey, past forth at the king of England's command, with certain of his best ships; and the said Andrew, being in his voyage sailing toward Scotland, having only but one ship and a bark, they set upon at the Downs, and at the first entry did make sign unto them that there was friendship standing betwix the two realms, and therefore thought them to be friends; wherewith they, nothing moved, did cruelly invade, and he manfully and courageously defended, where there was many slain, and Andrew himself sore wounded, that he died shortly; and his ship, called *The Lion*, and the bark, called *Jenny Pirrvyne*, which, with the Scots men that was living, were had to London, and kept there as prisoners in the Bishop of Yorks house, and after was sent home in Scotland."

On comparing this ballad with the chronicles, it is seen that the accounts differ widely in form and content. The chronicle has the form of prose historical narrative, the ballad that of rhythmic drama. The content of the chronicle is bare of personal and picturesque detail, aims to explain carefully how it happened; the ballad consists largely of this personal and picturesque detail, and aims to convey a picture and a feeling. We note certain inaccuracies, too, in the ballad when we bring it to the square of the chronicle. For instance, the name of the hero of the ballad is Charles Howard, who stands for the Thomas and Edmund Howard of the chronicles; the number of ships engaged on either side is one in the ballad as against two in the chronicles. Both these changes can be explained on the ground of the greater unity and simplicity demanded by the dramatic form. A third inaccuracy seems simply careless, — we can hardly see why the ballad should date the return of the ships just before New Year's Eve, while the chronicle brings them back on the second day of August. The ballad, too, lets Sir Andrew go on in heroic speech in innocent unconsciousness of the fact that he is shot through heart and brain. Again, the ballad does not give the year, and it takes the Portuguese complication for granted as known, which may be forgiven to a song sung for the men of the day, and forgetful of posterity. In the incident of the whistle, the ballad sides with the older chronicle as against the later, and is more likely to be right.

But how is it when the comparison turns to larger matters of time, to the general causes and results of events? Here the ballad repeats the history. In England, in the days of Henry the Eighth, a Scotch pirate named Andrew Barton wofully harassed English ships and merchants; so that the king sent forth a nobleman, well fitted out, to chase and catch this pirate. After a most manful fight on either side, the pirate was suppressed. So far do ballad and chronicle agree. The ballad supplies, besides, the "birds singing sweetly on every tree," the passing of the Thames, the "brasse within, and steele without," "Sir Andrew's crosse," the threats of

Sir Andrew, the blowing of his whistle shrilly until death, and the bringing of his head up the Thames, — things which might have happened so, or otherwise, without affecting the main course or point of the narrative; that is, they are details not necessarily historical in their nature.

On the side of actual history, many facts are given incidentally, such as that in the time of Henry the Eighth there were many merchants in London who traded by sea to Flanders and France; that this trade was molested by pirates, and that it was the king's business to protect it. Again, we see many details of living which the chronicle takes for granted. Thus the merchants kneel before the king; the sailors are armed with pikes and guns and bows, the ships with ordnance; the Scot sails under St. Andrew's cross; the merchants sail with white willow wands in sign of peace.

Mrs. Willard then comes to this conclusion: that, where picturesque and dramatic history is in order, the ballad will furnish it; that it will, besides, serve as a source even for the main narrative, which it claims to give; while for such matters as language, dress, manners, equipment, range of trade, and all the contemporary environment from which these details are necessarily drawn, and which more serious chronicles neglect, the ballad takes its place as a rich and accurate source. By its very nature it draws such matters as these into its content; just as more serious history, by its very nature, draws into its content such matters, as names, dates, numbers, political relations, and terms of war and peace.

THE RELATION OF TRAVEL TO HISTORICAL STUDY.

PEOPLE often used to ask me, Why do you want to go abroad? and I had some difficulty in finding a respectable answer. Of course it would be a great pleasure, and I thought I could see that the sight of objects would clinch the scientific or historical information which I happened to have about them; and I might even add to

this stock. Still, although I felt, and everybody said, that there was some peculiar educative value in foreign travel, I could never exactly define in what it consisted; and of course the idea of going for pleasure only was entirely out of the question.

If, however, I were now asked the question, Of what use is travel to the student of history? I should say, To bring him into contact with the sources of his subject. Not only books, but lands and peoples, contain these records of the past. Travel instructs us in environment, as books instruct us in thought and feeling. It shows us, first, the physical environment of a people, — the lay of the land, its gifts of sun and air, of food and shelter; further travel shows us the industrial environment, — the roads and cities, the markets and factories, by which a people weaves its nest into the wild tree of nature; best of all, we see the people themselves, as they move and speak and look. And here we come on the prime source of all — on the vital mass which makes history, which urges itself through all this inert environment, forcing from it product, action, organization. The land, the people, the body of life and product evolved by their interaction, — these are the sources with which travel acquaints us.

There is a large class of facts about these sources which books can give us much more quickly and surely than travel; indeed, all that class of facts which may be described as exact information. The traveller who hopes to depend upon what he sees or hears for this kind of knowledge misses the value both of books and of travel, and is deservedly a laughing-stock for gods and men. Travel gives us something of a totally different sort; something to be seized by the heart and the senses rather than the intellect. For instance, the books will tell me all I want to know, — all I can know, — about the pyramids, — their size, history, use. I can become so learned about them in any great library, that seeing can add nothing to my intellectual knowledge of them. What is it, then, I gain as I stand among the palm-trees by the Nile, and see them far across the desert, clear outlines of pure form and warm color; or as, drawing

nearer, they tower above me, silent and solitary, on the edge of Sahara, while the Sphynx crouches near? What do I gain but some entrance into the spirit and sense of the old Egyptian, as he, too, saw them shining and towering there four thousand years ago, the self-same Sphynx crouching near? His spirit and mine mingle there by Sphynx and pyramid; and I am richer, not in learning, but in life. Or we are in France, in the midst of cheerful, contented, happy people thronging the streets, chattering and laughing; or in Germany, running against boys with botany cases, and men with spectacles, and always and forever against the army; or here on the desolate moor, with Stonehenge looming through the mist alone in the wide horizon. What is it we are gaining? Ten to one we know all we see beforehand; but now our knowledge enters through the senses,—the common highway of the human spirit, the same for all times and places,—and a breadth and elevation of life itself, a widening of the personality, result.

But another thing results from this wealth of spiritual experiences. Having acquired, we compare, test the spirits to know of what manner they are. So we grow critical, learn to know more exactly the worth and place of objects and people. Our standards change, and change upward and outward. For instance, as soon as we reached Rome we went to see Raphael's Transfiguration, a canvas famous through the world; but in our secret hearts we only wondered before it, and had dim suspicions that the genius of Raphael was a kind of myth kept sacred by a tradition that no one dared attack. But day after day passed, and not a day without its vision of high art. The antique, in all its simple majesty, took us in hand; silently the great gods and heroes of the Vatican and Capitol stood before us and said, "Look, look!" and we looked until, little by little, their beauty grew alive in our souls. At last, after two months of such schooling, we went again to the little upper room where the Transfiguration stood; and lo, the canvas was blazing with life and motion and color, and we knew that Raphael was in deed and truth the Raphael men said he was,—an archangel of high art.

This rising standard of art carried other standards with it. Raphael and his great peers taught us to seek and demand everywhere that same unity, purity, and strength which the classic productions of art embody. So came another advantage of travel,—the growth of powers of comparison and criticism, and the formation of a higher standard.

To the child, too, we should bring such benefits, and plan little journeys as part of his historical course. Hardly any school is so placed as not to be within excursion distance of some site or some collection of historical interest. Such sites, pictures, or collections are precious additions to the historical apparatus of the teacher. The way to the spirit of the child, as to that of the man, lies through the sense and the thing.

THE TOOLS OF HISTORY.

Authorities.—The authorities are based on the *sources*. If no history of England had ever been written, the man who would write it must go to the original sources: what is more, he must bring these sources into evidence through the whole of his work; for no authority to-day is considered trustworthy unless he refers to his sources. If he so bases his work, and does it well, he rises into the first rank of historical workers; if he bases his work on other authorities instead of on sources, his work takes second rank, and has no value for the scholar, except possibly as a handbook. A man who writes without references, composing his history from unknown or secondary authorities, is no longer respectable. A first-rate authority should give an accurate, interpretative account of what he finds in the sources, and he should give us references by which we may review or extend his work for ourselves. By the accuracy, completeness, and character of these references, the scholarly quality of an author is largely determined; his power as an interpreter can be judged only by those who know his sources as well as he, and who have an equal or greater power of interpretation.

Libraries. — Libraries, as is often remarked, are the laboratories of history; therefore, the teacher or student of history should make it his first business to learn the library facilities of his own immediate vicinity, and to urge on every movement for their extension and improvement. A library has two uses: one, to collect and preserve books; the other, to give them the greatest possible circulation among the people. Fortunately, the second function of the library is much emphasized lately, so that in our leading libraries not only are monthly bulletins issued containing timely lists of books on current topics, and of new accessions, but, thanks to the lead of the Worcester library, the books on any special subject are lent in a body to any public school for a limited period; and, thanks to the lead of certain British libraries, the experiment of admitting the public directly to the shelves is being tried,—it is to be hoped successfully. In addition to the facilities of public libraries, every teacher of history should try to build up a select collection of books under the direct ownership of the school itself. His own library should serve as an extension of this, and *vice versa*. In general, it may be said that the school library should contain general books of reference for his subject, while his own library should grow along some particular line of interest, forming a special collection which will grow in time to be a very desirable addition to any general library. To effect this, one should look over the catalogues of second-hand dealers as well as over the notices of new books. The reviews of *The Critic*, *The New York Nation*, and *The London Spectator*, and *The London Weekly Times* may be recommended. For statistics and facts about American libraries, see the special report of the Bureau of Education for 1876. A new one will appear the current year (1896).

Bibliographies. — The great need of bibliographies now appears. The teacher cannot go far without asking, What are the books on this topic? What are my best sources, what my best authorities? In general, it may be said that the classified catalogue of any great library will furnish a fair bibliography under its headings of coun-

tries and men. The catalogues of the Boston Athenæum, of the Brooklyn Public Library, of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, and the *Catalogue of History, Biography, and Travel*, issued by the Boston Public Library, may be named as very valuable. The last-named catalogue contains a topical classification of books and articles, often with notes indicating the point of view. The monthly bulletins, already referred to, often contain good special bibliographies, like that lately issued by the Providence library on the subject of Napoleon.

Many of the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*, and in Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Social and Political Science*, close with a selected bibliography of books bearing on the topic treated.

The following bibliographical aids will prove of special use:—

Adams, C. K., *A Manual of Historical Literature*. Comprises brief descriptions of the most important histories, in English, French, and German, together with practical suggestions as to methods and courses of historical study for the use of students, general readers, and collectors of books. Omitting the sub-heads, the chapters are entitled: Introduction, On the Study of History, Universal Histories, Histories of Antiquity, Histories of Greece, of Rome, of the Middle Ages, of Modern Times, of Italy, of Germany, of France, of Russia and Poland, of the smaller Nationalities of Europe, of England, and of the United States. New York. \$2.50.

The portion dealing with the United States is especially good, and the work is indispensable for the beginner.

Allen, W. F., *History Topics for High Schools and Colleges*. Heath & Co. Boston. This is accompanied by excellent reference lists.

Boston Public Library, *Handbook for Readers*.

Gardiner, S. R., *English History for Students*, with a critical and bibliographical account of authorities, by J. Bass Mullinger. New York. 1881.

Hardy, Geo. E., *Five Hundred Books for the Young*. A graded and annotated list. New York. 1892. Scribner's Sons. Invaluable for selecting school libraries. 50 cents.

Sonnenschein, William Swan, *The Best Books*. A reader's guide to the choice of the best available books in every department of science, art, and literature, with the dates of the first and last editions, and the price, size, and publisher's name of each book. London. 1891. \$12.00.

As a supplement to *The Best Books*, Sonnenschein has published *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literature*. Putnam's. \$7.50.

The United States Bureau of Education published in 1893 as whole number 200, a *Catalog of A. L. A. Library*; 5,000 volumes for a popular library, selected by the American Library Association, and shown at the World's Columbian Exposition. This will prove of use to those selecting the beginnings of a library. For history, see pp. 114 and 402.

Maps and Atlases. — Three sorts of maps are needed for use in history, — outline maps, to record the results of study; reference maps, containing the data for study; and illustrative maps, which are diagrammatic in character, and which result from filling in an outline to illustrate a particular point. Thus an outline map for the thirteen English colonies should contain merely the tracing for the coasts, and the chief rivers and mountains, of the Atlantic seaboard; a reference map for them should contain, besides, every named settlement, mountain, road, whose site can be determined. A number of illustrative maps might be made for the thirteen colonies: for instance, a simple outline, colored red over the territory possessed by the English, and marking in bold lines the charter-boundaries, would illustrate their territorial extent; another outline might indicate with various colors the race-elements entering into the settlement; another, the lines which settlement took from the seaboard to the interior. The maps described below are of all three kinds; maps of special countries and periods are not given, except for England.

Droysen, *Allgemeiner Historischer Handatlas*. 69 Karten, mit Text. Velhagen & Klasing. Leipsic, Germany. 25 shillings. No index. Excellent for scholars' reference.

Freeman, E. A., *Historical Geography of Europe*. 2 vols. Longmans. London. 31 shillings, sixpence. First volume text; second volume illustrative maps for political changes. Covers whole period of history.

Gardiner, S. R., *A School Atlas of English History*. Longmans. 5 shillings.

Hart, Albert Bushnell, *Epoch Maps, Illustrating American History*. New York. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1891. 50 cents.

This is the most scholarly American historical atlas that we have, and has been made carefully from original sources, texts of grants, charters, government instructions, etc. Reference maps.

Channing and Hart of Harvard, *Outline Maps of the United States*. A large paper map, in zone-sections, with important towns indicated, but unnamed. \$3.00 complete and mounted; 15 cents per section, and 50 cents complete, unmounted. Same in small size, for pupils, 2 cents apiece; \$1.50 a hundred. Heath & Co., Boston.

Heath's *Intermediate Outline Map of the United States*. For historical and geographical study. For class-room work, to be filled out with colored pencils. Heath & Co., Boston. 28 × 40 inches. Set of 4, \$1.00.

Heath's *Progressive Outline Maps*. For the home and desk use of pupils; to be used with colors and colored pencils. Paper, \$1.50 a hundred, or 2 cents apiece. Heath & Co., Boston. These are prepared for special states and countries, as well as for continents.

For a wall reference map, see the *Practical School Maps*, by the same firm, 30 × 40, colored and lettered as usual. \$1.00.

Johnston's *Wall Maps*. 50 × 42 inches. \$4.00. Standard English map. Ginn, American agent. Reference map. Johnston [London and Edinburgh] also has a full line of atlases and outline maps, all standard and excellent.

Labberton, Robert H., *Historical Atlas*, 3800 B.C.—1890 A.D. 165 progressive colored maps. Silver, Burdett, & Co. \$1.25. These maps are very diagrammatic, and more useful in elementary than in advanced work. Their great advantage is their clearness. They are illustrative in character.

MacCoun, Townsend, *A Historical Geography of the United States*.

Silver, Burdett, & Co. also publish the wall maps of Labberton and MacCoun, which have the same quality of clearness that is possessed by the small maps.

Putzger, F. W., *Historischer Schul-Atlas zur Alten, Mittleren und Neuen Geschichte*. An excellent atlas for the student, accurate and full. 2 marks. Velhagen & Klasing. Leipsic, Germany.

Spruner-Mencke, *Handatlas der Geschichte*. 3 parts. \$25.00. Gotha, Germany. A standard reference atlas for scholars.

Stanford's *Large School Maps*. 58 × 50. Educational Publishing Co., Boston and Chicago. Reliable reference maps.

Chronologies and Summaries. — These are as necessary for time reference as maps are for place. Some work of this sort should always be at hand. The following are standard works:—

Blair's *Chronological Tables*. Revised and enlarged. Comprehending the chronology and history of the world from the earliest times to the Russian Treaty of Peace, 1856. By T. Willoughby Ross. \$3.50. New York.

Haydn, J., *Dictionary of Dates*. New York. \$5.00. A full and standard work of reference, in which events and names are arranged alphabetically, with full dates and summary descriptions.

Nichol, John, Professor of English, University of Glasgow. *Tables of European History, Literature, Science, and Art, from A.D. 200 to 1888; and of American History, Literature, and Art.* Glasgow, 1888.

Ploetz, Carl, *Epitome of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History.* Translated, with extensive additions, by William H. Tillinghast. Boston and New York, 1884. \$3.00. This work can hardly be overestimated as a handbook of general reference. It is very fully indexed, and the matter is arranged in periods and by countries. It is especially valuable in modern history for the full summaries that are given of treaties. It also contains genealogical tables. This is, perhaps, the most satisfactory general work of its class.

IN BUYING WORKS OF THIS CLASS, LOOK OUT FOR THE LATEST EDITIONS.

The Note-Book. — But how connect one's self with all this apparatus of history? How make it applicable to one's special aim and circumstance? Through some carefully arranged scheme of taking and keeping notes. Each teacher, each student of history, must make his own books of history, in which are his own special knowledge, his own special point of view, his own ideas and experiences embodied and accessible. Notes are not to be relegated to the top shelf, nor the disorderly drawer, nor to be written on odd pieces of paper with smudgy lead-pencils. Thought and money must be expended upon them. The merchant might as well expect to keep his accounts, or the curator of a great museum to catalogue his objects, in this way, as the student of history to classify and keep track of his notes in such careless and haphazard fashion. The keeping of notes presents many serious difficulties; but the following results of experience may help to solve them.

Notes fall into four general classes: —

Bibliographical notes.

Copied extracts.

Summaries.

Reflections.

As for the bibliographical notes, the form generally accepted contains four items,—author, title, date, and place, arranged as follows:—

Renan, Ernest, *Recollections of My Youth.* New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

Wherever the bibliographical note refers to a book or article which has been examined, it is useful to add short notes, like the following:—

Important article. Covers early part of period only. Romantic.
Useless.

If the book is not in your library, it will be also useful to add the name of the library where it can be found. For the keeping of bibliographical notes the teacher will find it perhaps most satisfactory to adopt the same system of library cards as that in vogue in most of our libraries. These cards are of uniform size, and in three colors, and can be obtained from the Library Bureau, 146 Franklin Street, Boston, or from their agents in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, or London. They come from \$1.60 to \$3.75 a thousand, according to style.

The sample on opposite page will show their size and arrangement when filled.

These should be arranged alphabetically, under topical division cards, in a long box or drawer placed conveniently for reference, or on adjustable sheets in a binder. These also can be bought, if desired, of the Library Bureau.

The three other sorts of notes should be kept on sheets of paper of some uniform size, or in a series of indexed books. In the former case, the sheets of paper on a single topic should be kept together in some sort of neat portfolio, and thus index themselves; they can be easily shifted, rearranged, and superseded to suit the development of the subject in your own mind. Stiff sheets of manilla paper once folded make very cheap and handy covers for these notes. The following general rules for their handling may prove useful:—

1. Write only on one side of the paper.
2. Write only on one topic on one sheet.
3. Never copy or summarize anything without making an exact bibliographical reference to the place where you found it.

4. Keep all your notes on one topic together.
5. Leave sufficient margins for additional jottings.
6. By underlined words or marginal headings call attention to the contents of your page.

If you choose to keep a series of books instead of loose sheets in covers, the above rules also apply; but in order to carry out 4, it will be necessary to have the note-book paged, and to run an index of some sort. Nearly all those whose experience I have consulted prefer the system of cards and loose sheets; many make more or less use of color to indicate different varieties or sets of notes. But while there is great room for variation, yet the general rules here laid down are followed by nearly all those who make a serious business of history.

THE RELATION OF ADJUNCT SUBJECTS TO HISTORY, NOTABLY BIOGRAPHY.

BIOGRAPHY is so easy and so tempting, and so frequent an approach to history, that it becomes important to define its relation to our subject. The subject-matter of history is woven by the interacting lives of multitudes of men and women. Its value lies in the chance it gives us to see how these lives evolve into freedom and power; its sources are the products of human lives. Then, do we not find in a concrete human life of a given epoch the most significant source of all? Through the biography of Columbus do we not most easily realize the actual conditions of his epoch? Do we not through him experience the government of kings and courts? through him become acquainted with noble, monk, burgher, and serf? through him see on one side of the water monasteries, cathedrals, mediæval towns with narrow streets and strong-built walls, and on the other side of the water primitive America? To all this varied mediæval setting his life gives unity and meaning. At that one point we enter alive into a living world.

This argument leads to the use of biography quite apart from

the less pertinent ones of ease and interest. But in this use of biography the nature of history must be strictly kept in mind. One should dwell on those biographies which are historical or typical, and should emphasize in these biographies their historical and typical side, passing lightly over the accidental or personal. Biography becomes historical in its value where it touches the common life, or contributes to the social progress of its time. Thus, the costume, the house, the ship, of Columbus, are historical in their interest, because they are typical, and illustrate the mode of life which he shared with his contemporaries. Again, all the events leading up to the discovery of America are historical, because they show the evolution of an event of the highest importance to social progress. On the other hand, the portrait of Columbus, certain relations with his family, certain details of his death, are personal in their interest, are neither typical nor important from our point of view. Even these matters are often valuable from the teacher's point of view, because, before historical connections are formed, they serve as personal points of contact between Columbus and the pupil, and become attachments for the memory.

Selected in this way, typical lives, like that of Benvenuto Cellini, or lives which lead and collect the thought and will of masses of men, like that of Luther, are perhaps the most valuable of all the connective tissues of history, embodying as they do in a single living person like ourselves in many ways the civilization, tendency, and product of a different age. But the fact that these lives are valuable because they are embodiments or instruments of great societies should never be forgotten. Columbus was dependent on the sum of human discovery and invention which he found already in existence, — on the mariner's compass, on Toscanelli's map, on the ship developed by the Levantine trade, on the discovery of printing, which gave him the books of Ptolemy, D'Ailly, and Marco Polo; dependent, too, he was, on a mass of human belief and support sufficient to fit his ships and man

them. He was dependent on society, past and present, for his means. To these means he applied an individual genius and character. Thus history works. The past gives a treasure of invention and product; the present gives a workman, to whom invention and product are but stuff and tools. From this union of treasure and genius, history springs. If the treasure is rich and manageable, if the man has insight and power, and thousands of human spirits at his call, the future springs mightily forward, and we get an age like that of the Renaissance. If the treasure is meagre and difficult of access, or if men's minds are sluggish and unbelieving, a spirit of equal power, like that of Roger Bacon or Rienzi, may move the world but little; yet only so does the world move at all — by the application of individuals to the mass of historic and natural environment. From this point of view, again, biography, in its relation to human progress, gives us the vital chain by which generations take their place in the evolution of humanity.

These same principles apply in using geography, literature, and art in their contact with history; those parts of these subjects must be chosen which belong to social progress. The prologue of the *Canterbury Tales* is historical, because it is a faithful contemporary record of typical forms of the social organism. William Blake's poetry, on the other hand, has little historical importance, since it is the record of a solitary and peculiar spirit. I say "little," rather than "no;" since in the final analysis every human product, every human life, finds its place, and much of its explanation, in the social organism in which it grows. But some lives are caught in the main current, while others are swirled off into eddies more or less accidental in their nature; and we must never lose sight of the main current if we are to understand the stream of history, even in its eddies.

And geography? We often forget one main fact in regard to geography; namely, that it is only a part of the environment of society, and is important for history only in this relation. As environment, geography is vastly more important to primitive than

to cultivated man. The Mississippi River was of immense importance to the Indians; they could not develop life far from its shores. To us, with our abundant means of transportation and our engineering power, it makes little difference whether the Mississippi runs north or south, east or west, a thousand miles away, or close at hand; to us the transcontinental railroads, part of our artificial environment, are much more important items. Much of what is called historical geography is accidental and unimportant. It mattered little whether the treaty that closed the Crimean War was signed at Paris or London, whether the battle which ended Napoleon's career was fought at Waterloo or Aix-la-Chapelle. Geography should be insisted upon in history where it has been a people-making power, as in Greece, or where it has become a record of growth and achievement, as in the British Empire.

PRINCIPLES OF METHOD DEDUCED FROM PRECEDING STUDIES.

THE materials of history are peoples, their environment, and their products; and since books are the great treasure-houses in which peoples have stored the records of their past, the library becomes the chief laboratory and workshop of the historian. But, after all, the student must remember that even books are but second-hand records, ill understood without living contact with men and things. For men and things are records, too, and the truest record of the progress of humanity. We can neither understand the man of the past without knowing the man of to-day, nor the man of to-day without knowing the man of the past.

Since sources are the material from which historical judgments are formed, since their value depends solely on their nature as evidence, and since no historical judgments are permanent or complete, but only relative to circumstance and knowledge, we should not only work with sources as much as possible, but train ourselves as carefully as possible to a critical consideration of their nature as

evidence, as well as to a critical estimate of judgments based upon them.

He should enter the field of history who understands and cares for people, who has a good sense of proportion and a judicial mind. Equipped thus by nature, the historical student should add as training the study of the rules of evidence and the ability to handle the tools of his trade; namely, sources, authorities, bibliographies, libraries, the knowledge and practice of the use of books. He must not only be able to handle these tools, but with them to extract the answers to special problems; an art which he will only acquire by following up some particular problem to its sources. In this sort of work he can be trained in any good university seminary; but if he does the work he will get the training, whether in or out of a university, and from such work he should never allow himself to be parted. The teacher must never cease to be a student. By study alone can he keep his mind alert, his interest alive, his companionship with scholars unbroken. A teacher who is a student at fifty should be taken as a matter of course, and not as a phenomenon.

History is not much longer destined to sleep while little books and dogmatic teachers tell weary souls what history was and did. Presently she will wake and enter into life. Then shall we see that the past lives in the present, and only there; that into the present we must look, and look again, until we can discern the forms, ideas, institutions, of the past in their vital connections with the present. And as science has pushed her way out of the narrow text-book and the common schoolroom, with its dogmatic teacher, into the world of phenomena, and into special laboratories fitted with work-tables, collections, and apparatus, with specialist-students always at hand to assist and direct, so history is destined to push its way out of that same narrow text-book and common schoolroom, with its dogmatic teacher, into the world of human nature, and into special seminaries, fitted with maps, pictures, and books, *with a work-table for every student*, the whole presided over by a special-

ist who can guide the student to his sources, and show him how to interpret them truly and critically. The college will realize this first; but in time the seminary is as surely destined as the laboratory to work its way in modified forms into every place where history is taught. One aim will take us surely to this ideal end; namely, the endeavor to see, to feel, the real thing.

PART II.

METHOD AS DETERMINED BY THE HISTORIC SENSE.

THE HISTORIC SENSE AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES.

STUDIES of method have been in the past mostly deductive in character. This study is inductive, and seeks to find principles by the observation and comparison of such facts as relate to the historic sense among children and primitive peoples.

The historic sense, as we have seen, has its elements. It is born wherever the human mind attains the conception of making a true record of real and concerted human action, progressive through time, and connected by cause and effect. Take the Sagas of the North, Herodotus, the *Books of the Kings*, Mommsen's *Rome*, — take anything you will that men call history, and you will find this to distinguish it from myth and story, — that it is considered as true; this to mark it off from biography, — that it relates to groups of men; this to separate it from sociology, philosophy, or literature, — that actions are its theme, and these actions are related by cause and effect acting through continuous time. Wherever, then, in our examination we are led toward the ideas of a true record, of continuous time, of cause and effect, of the social unit, we are led on toward the historic sense.

According to its desire and objects, this historic sense embodies itself in different forms. If it wishes a record for the memory, it appears as mnemonic or reference history, as lists of kings, priests, in some sort of chronology, embodying what is striking or easily

memorable. If it wishes for glory or power, it appears as æsthetic narrative or incident, choosing what is splendid, terrible, appealing to the senses. If it wishes to instruct, or develop a certain type of character, it becomes didactic history, choosing such material as may serve the purpose of its ideal; it becomes the history of the good and bad. If it wishes to explain, to connect the social unit with the world of being, it becomes philosophic or theologic history. If it wishes to discover simply what is true, it becomes scientific.

We have hardly yet become conscious of the value and power of the historic sense. Yet it is the sense by which we enter into the life of universal man; by which we see him crunching his half-burned bones in his hidden cave, — see him sitting on thrones of gold, exulting in slaughter, — or by which we join the heroes of Thermopylæ. Wherever man has lived, we live and feel and know: our own personality is widened by the personality of ages and races, until we run back for thousands of years, and out into thousands of souls; and equipped with this wider personality, this new environment of intellectual and spiritual existence, we find ourselves able more deftly and certainly to understand the present and foresee the future. Through the historic sense humanity becomes self-conscious and self-directing.

How, then, does this precious historic sense arise, this self-consciousness of humanity, this organ by which we seize on the past and future of man? How shall we discover its dim, psychologic origins, its overgrown path? We must look in two ways, — to primitive peoples and to children.

The Bushmen are reckoned as being in the lowest known stage of culture. Yet even among them, traditions of origin exist, and the missionary Bleek collected eighty-three volumes of their myths.¹ Other Australian tribes rarely count beyond three, although they can go as high as seven. They have no way of marking time; they have traditions of origin, and represent past events by dramatic dances. Here we find a general sense of past time, a notion of

¹ Daniel G. Brinton, in a letter to the author.

a swarm of men hanging together, while the dramatic dance gives a primitive record of single events. In this case, then, we get all the beginnings of the historic sense, in vague ideas of time, of a social unit, of cause and effect, and of a record.

The Veddahs of India count as high as five, have a tradition of origin, and worship their ancestors. Here, again, we meet the notions of cause and effect, and of a social unit enduring through time. This latter idea here enters the domain of faith; an important point to note later on.

Let us strike a little higher in the range of culture, among the Polynesians. The Sandwich Islanders counted by tens, and recorded time by knotted cords or quipos, divided the year into months by the moon, worshipped their ancestors, deified national heroes, whose relics they sacredly preserved, had dramatic dances and epic songs representing incidents in the lives of their kings. Here we get the idea of continuous time, marked into definite periods which are recorded. The idea of the social unit has broadened from the tribe to the nation; the power to record appears in quipos, dances, and fixed epics, all under sacred guardianship, in order to keep them true and fixed from generation to generation.

Let us try the Dakotas. They have a decimal notation going as high as a thousand. They have a calendar called a winter-count, divided into winters, marked by events and running back a hundred years, kept by pictographs on hides; they divide the year itself into moons; they have dramatic dances and legends of origin. Here we get all the beginnings of history; but more strongly than before, they appear to be bound together into a large unit of continuous time. The Chippewas, Creeks, Iroquois, were about equally advanced.

How is it with the Esquimaux? They can count by tens into thousands. They reckon time by winters and nights; reckon the time of night by the position of the constellations; keep count of time by notched sticks; have traditions running back for hundreds of years; celebrate the heroic deeds of their ancestors by poems.

Here history has become conscious of itself, and the poem gives a record fixed more or less firmly by its rhythmic nodes.

Let us rise to another stage of culture. The ancient Mexicans counted on by fives indefinitely. They marked months and years by astronomical observations, and recorded them by a highly developed calendar; had a geographical knowledge as extensive as the range of their merchants; recorded past events by picture-writing, which aided and fixed the oral tradition, while their calendar furnished exact dates. They worshipped national heroes, while songs and hymns embraced mythical legends.

The peoples of Yucatan, Guatemala, and Peru were similarly advanced. Among the Peruvians, ancestor and hero worship was highly developed into a national cult, preserving fixed records of origin, and of sacred events and persons. Such are the facts which appear. What do they tell us of the evolution of history?

The first attempt at historical narrative appears in the myths of origin. In these, three elements of the historic sense appear,—the notion of past time, the notion of the social unit, and the notion of cause and effect. The notion of time is obscure and vague. The social unit appears in the conception of a tribe or people hanging together by itself. The idea of cause and effect appears in the attempt to explain this common swarm, who speak and look and act alike, by reference to some common origin. In its form this myth must be classed as philosophical.

Let us see how each of these ideas grows. The notion of the social unit develops through ancestor worship into the worship of national heroes or gods, who embody themselves as national and divine rulers. This line of development embodies itself mostly in æsthetic history, the history that adorns the individual by the glory of his family, tribe, or nation; that adorns him with an aureole of antiquity, splendid deeds, heroic character. Didactic history also springs from this same root,—the sense of the social unit, and the wish to keep it a unit bound together by the same ideals. Thus Clavigero tells us of the ancient Mexicans:—

"We cannot express too strongly the care which parents and masters took to instruct their children and pupils in the history of the nation. They made them learn speeches and discourses which they could not express by the pencil; they put the actions of their ancestors into verse, and taught them to sing them. This tradition dispelled the doubts, and undid the ambiguity, which paintings alone might have occasioned; and by the assistance of these monuments perpetuated the memory of their heroes and of virtuous examples, their mythology, their rites, their laws, and their customs." — *Clavigero, ii. 11.*

The second notion which appears in the myth of origin, that of cause and effect, cannot be claimed by history alone; this attempt to answer how and why is the mother of science as well, and along this line finds a rich development in a whole range of nature myths, developing into natural philosophy, and finally into natural science. On the side of attempted history, it gives us all the myths of the culture-heroes, — stories of migrations, of the founding of towns, of the making of laws; a mass of pure fancy, most of it, historical critics discover. Yet this is the most creative of the historic notions; the myths exploded, the old stories discredited, — the mind still asks how and why, and so develops, first, historical philosophy, and at last, and painfully, historical science.

The notion of continuous time appears later than either of the other historic notions, and seems more difficult to attain. The first step toward it is taken by the power to count; the next, by the continuous observation of sun, moon, and stars, reaching over periods of not less than a year; and the last, by the invention of some way of recording time. This invention appears as a notched stick or bone, a knotted cord, a winter-count kept by events. This last form of the invention is of a special interest, as it is at the same time a calendar and a chronicle, sure to lead, if uninterrupted, to mnemonic and chronologic history. The Homeric catalogue of ships in the second book of the *Iliad* is a familiar example of this form.

But how does that special element of the historic sense, the idea of a truthful record, develop? From three needs, — the need of recording property, the need of remembering ancestors, and the

need of conveying information. The notched stick may tell you how many oxen you own, how many ancestors you reckon, or how many enemies are on the warpath. In all these cases the record may be false; but its value depends on its being considered true, since it forms a last court of appeal. Hence the pains that are taken in early times to keep a record fixed, by giving it a permanent material like bone or stone, by embodying it in rhythmical songs and dances, or in conventionalized groups of knots or lines or pictures. As a further development, these are placed under the guardianship of priests and temples, where they may be protected by superstitious awe. In every such attempt we recognize a sense of truth, a sense of the value of evidence, of the preciousness of the relic, the song, or tradition that was once contemporary.

All the elements on which history is founded appear, then, among primitive peoples, — the sense of the social unit, the power to reason, the sense of continuous time, the invention of a true and permanent record, as well as the sense of its value.

Let us test our conclusions by some special instances. Let us study first the winter-count of the Dakotas. This was a chronological calendar, invented by the Dakota, Lone Dog, and consisted of a buffalo-skin, on which were painted pictographs, each representing the most notable event of one year. About seventy years were reckoned backward, and the events to mark them were chosen by consultation with the oldest and most influential men of the Dakotas. What material did they choose as worthy of remembrance? Of the seventy years, nineteen are marked by biographic details concerning warriors or unusual men of some sort; twenty-one by events that concern the tribe as a whole. Among these we note two years of famine, two of epidemics, two of dancing and feasting, a great eagle-catch, a great buffalo-catch, the building of a great lodge. Thirty-three years are marked by inter-tribal wars; five by inter-tribal peace; one by a pestilence striking many tribes in common; three by inter-tribal stealings. Three years are marked by notable events among white men; and these are specially note-

worthy, as leading towards extra-tribal history. One year is marked by the appearance of Spanish blankets; one by the first distribution of beef to the Indians by the United States government. The year of Custer's Massacre takes no note of this event, but of the fact that the United States took their horses away from the Indians! Another year is marked by the coming of the whites; another by the first appearance of shod horses; one only by a supernatural event, although extraordinary natural phenomena, such as extreme cold, an eclipse, or a falling star, mark six years.

The points revealed by this analysis are, that in the material chosen the main interest attaches itself to the tribe in its inter-tribal relations, although slight but important traces of an interest in other tribes and the whites appear. The historical character of the calendar is sharply defined by the fact that only one supernatural event appears. The very object of the calendar reveals the consciousness of continuous time, and a serious effort to mark it as such; the method of comparative consultation reveals a sense of truth. We get, then, in this winter-count all the elements of the historic sense but the idea of cause and effect, which, from the nature of the material, is lacking. On the side of form we have here a reference list of dated events; that is, the mnemonic or reference form, just on the eve of chronicle.

Let us look in another direction, — at the clan-songs of the Polynesians of the Hervey group. Gill, who has collected them on the spot, and who resided among the people for many years, says: —

“ I soon found they had two sets of traditions, — one referring to their gods, and the supposed experiences of men after death; another relating veritable history. The natives themselves carefully distinguish between the two.” — GILL, p. 7.

In examining this collection of historical clan-songs, we find that, out of thirty-eight stories preserved, twenty-five commemorate some ancestor. In some cases this is the ancestor of a whole tribe; if not, of some notable family in the tribe. Eleven commemorate the

deeds of a hero of the tribe, not an ancestor; in one remarkable case this is of a culture-hero. Nine celebrate the collective action of the tribe; five seem to be told simply as interesting stories of love and adventure; one seems to keep its place for simple beauty; and one seems to have a distinct ethical purpose. Five only have a touch of the marvellous: this appears once in the form of a giant; once as a giant-oven; in a third and fourth the wonder is the coming of Captain Cook; and in the fifth, the first iron axe. It will be noted that in none of these cases does the marvellous depend on the supernatural.

In these songs the historic interest centres itself almost entirely about individuals, related to those who tell their deeds and sufferings. These deeds and sufferings are almost always of interest and importance to the tribe, and are remembered with two objects apparently: one is to hearten the survivors and frighten their enemies by deeds of daring or terror; the other object is a very practical one, — namely, to keep alive feelings of revenge by recounting past woes and sorrows. Add to these objects the desire to remember, and we get history; not in the form of a list, but in the form of a song, whose rhythms and refrains impress the memory and please the sense. You remember; you are struck; you are taught.

Aside from ~~these songs~~, these same tribes have pure mnemonic history, as seen in three lists of priests, including a succession of from nine to twelve men, and two lists of thirteen chiefs each. On reading the Bible to them, Gill notes that these Polynesians were greatly interested in the genealogies, and explains it by the fact that among them "the chief with the longest pedigree is most respected." In fact, he further notes that the Bible has taken the place of their old songs and myths as a body of history (Gill, pp. 352-353).

In the Bible we get a body of history dealing with a people far advanced on the road to civilization. The genealogies give us a long vista of backward-running time; the events cluster always

about the chosen people of God as the historic unit or swarm. But the interest is carried into Egypt and Assyria with the journeys and wars of their heroes; the narrative is carried on in chronologic order by the names and deeds of a genealogic succession of patriarchs, kings, and prophets; it is kept true and unchanged by records on stone, skin, and brick, placed under the guardianship of priests. It is mnemonic in its genealogies, æsthetic and didactic in its narrative. These narratives, then, display the furthest development of primitive peoples in the field of history; and further we will not look.

To sum up: First, the knowledge which we call history rests upon the sense of cause and effect, the sense of the social unit, the sense of time, the sense of the value of a true record. These all appear early in vague forms, as in myths of origin; and all advance together, now this idea, now that, leading, but no one idea allowed to get positively ahead. Of the four, the idea of time and of the true record lag; and yet we find even these well developed among peoples as advanced as the Polynesians.

Second, the whole mass of primitive historic material is essentially personal and actual; it commemorates the tribe, the hero, the ancestor, with which there is a personal connection. This interest widens as actions and events connect the tribe with the larger world. Thus the Indians become interested in the whites through their horses; the Polynesians in the English through Cook; the Jews in the Egyptians through Joseph.

Third, the mass of primitive history appears in three characteristic forms: in myths, explaining the reason why,—a primitive philosophy, often permeated with primitive theology; in lists, used as a chronologic string to assist the memory; in æsthetic and didactic narratives, intended to dazzle, terrify, or instruct. A most pointed instance of this last purpose is given by Gill (p. 336), where he tells us that one of his deacons confessed to having provoked a fight "in order that his name might go down to posterity with glory."

But how can scientific history evolve? The notions on which it is based, — time, the social unit, cause and effect, the true record, — all exist among primitive peoples; but how do they learn to combine these notions?

Mnemonic history cares only for memorable events, and pays little attention to cause and effect; didactic and philosophic history selects those events which are useful as examples for conduct, or which illustrate a theory of history; while æsthetic history preserves only what is beautiful, glorious, and striking. Add to that, that the three last forms are often protected by the whole force of a faith and a social and moral system, and you have some notion of the difficulty in the way of the development of scientific history. A primitive people feels that the story must be beautiful and worthy, the great man wholly admirable — a divine ideal, beyond question. The story thus becomes fixed and sacred, so that it may be preserved in its pure and original form. But, alas! that original was not true; and now, confirmed by the faith of generations, it is an almost impossible task to change, alter, or add in behalf of what may prove to be the truth. How, then, does the truth arrive? Through war, trade, and those endless questions of the critical mind, — why and how. The sacred quiet of the temple is broken by conquest and the rude irruption of the unbelieving heathen. Once broken, the clashing of national myths and legends arouses scepticism, the mother of truth, and history becomes broader in its outlook and truer to its records. The trader goes afield with his wares and his traditions. He finds other traditions, upheld with as sacred energy as his own, perhaps more reasonable on their face; he doubts, he modifies, he questions his facts, and so comes to have a sense of evidence which enables him to distinguish between the false and the true. After the Greeks trade to Egypt they begin to be historians; the father of history was a traveller living in the days of the Persian wars.

Trade and war are two ways which lead to historic criticism. The development of natural science brings us into a third way.

From the beginning, men try to account for things, to give a reason. If they do not know one, they invent one. If they find huge fossil bones in the earth, they tell stories of giants; if they live in a land called Hellas, they invent a first settler called Hellen; if they find themselves sowing wheat in a land where no wheat grows, they tell of the goddess who brought it from heaven and showed them how to sow it. These myths, half history and half science in their form, are a large part of tradition; and as they are tested by long experience, by wider knowledge of geography, zoölogy, physics, they break down, knowledge supplants belief, and men trust more to law, to reason, to experience; and so the scientific spirit comes to the aid of the sense of evidence, and both develop that sense of truth which is sooner or later applied to history.

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See, also, chapters in Tylor, Mallery, Brinton, Spencer, and other writers on primitive man.

THE HISTORIC SENSE AMONG CHILDREN.

What is true of the historic sense among children? Thanks to the kindness of the superintendents and teachers of Oakland, Santa Rosa, Napa, and Santa Paula, Cal., we have been allowed the opportunity to make tests of some 1,250 school children, in order to answer this special inquiry.

The first test was given to discover what questions children would spontaneously ask if given a story without a date, a place, a name, or a moral. This test is supposed to throw light upon the comparative curiosity of children as to personalities, time, cause and effect, and truth. The story was the following, given *verbatim*, without remark on the part of the teacher, the children writing down the questions they would like to have answered: —

There was a king who had a beautiful wife whom he dearly loved. But a fair prince came and took her away to a far country. Then the king and all his men went to fight the prince, who lived in a great city, all walled about with stone. For many a day the king and his men tried in vain to enter it; but at last, by a clever trick, some of his men got into the city, and burned it to the ground: and so the king got his wife once more.

The following sample lists of questions, printed exactly as worded and spelled, will give an idea of the sort of returns which we obtained: —

1. *Average set from boy of eight.* — How did the king get his wife when town was burning, wouldn't she get burnt? Did the first king fight with the second? Why did the second king want wife. Did the First king go strait after the other king as soon as he got the wife? Did the king weep.

2. *Average set from girl of nine.* — Did the king have a beard? How many years was the king married when his wife was taken away? What kind of a dress did the wife wear when she was married? What was the name of the city that the prince lived in? What was the name of the stone that was put around the great city? What was the name of the prince?

3. *Very complete set from girl of ten.* — What was the skillful trick done? What did the second king want with the first king's beautiful wife that he took her to a far country? Was the wife vain of her beauty? Was she kind and good to her husband? How long did the king fight to get back his wife? Where was the wife when they were fighting? Where was the first king when the second king was stealing his wife? Couldn't the king see the other taking her away? Or was he not strong enough to fight the king? Or was it night? Was it night or daytime when the soldiers burned the city? In what year was this when they fought? How long was it before he commenced to fight? Did the king cry or feel sorry when he found his wife taken away? What were the two kings names?

4. *Average sets from (a) boy of thirteen and (b) girl of fourteen:* —

(a) Where did the King live? What was his name? Over what country did this King reign? What was the Prince's name? Where did he take the King's wife? What kind of a trick did the King's men make up to get into the city? Is this Story a fable? What did the Prince take the King's wife for?

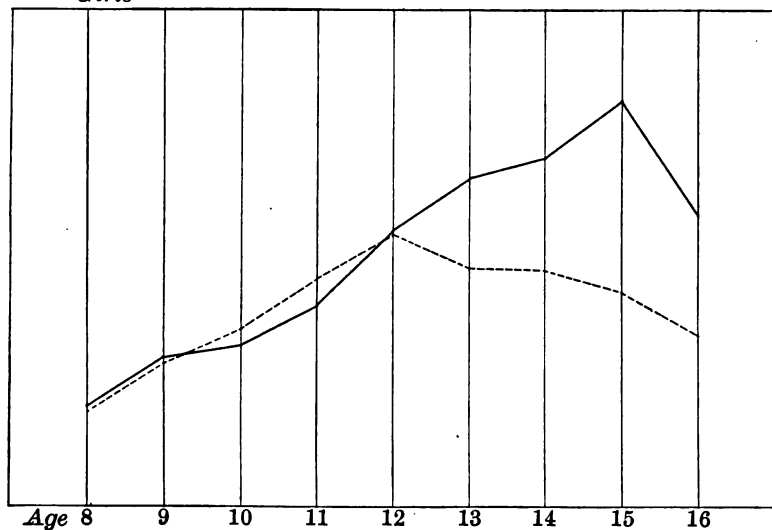
(b) What right had this prince, to take the king's wife away? For what reason did this prince take her? Who was this king? Did the king's wife want to go with the prince? What country did this king rule? Where did the prince take this Queen? What was the prince's name? How long were the men and the king trying to get into the city? What man discovered the way into the city? Why did they burn down the whole city? How did the king get his wife from the prince?

On collating the answers, we found that they classified themselves under the headings, — *who, where, how, why, result, personal detail and feeling, general detail, ethics, time, number, truth.* The results of the classification appear in the accompanying charts 1-9.

On examining our catch, we note the following phenomena: that the bulk of the questions appear under the rubrics of *who, where, and cause and effect*; *how, why, and result* being massed under this latter heading. Of the three, *cause and effect* lead in point of interest; *who* comes second, and *where* follows as a close

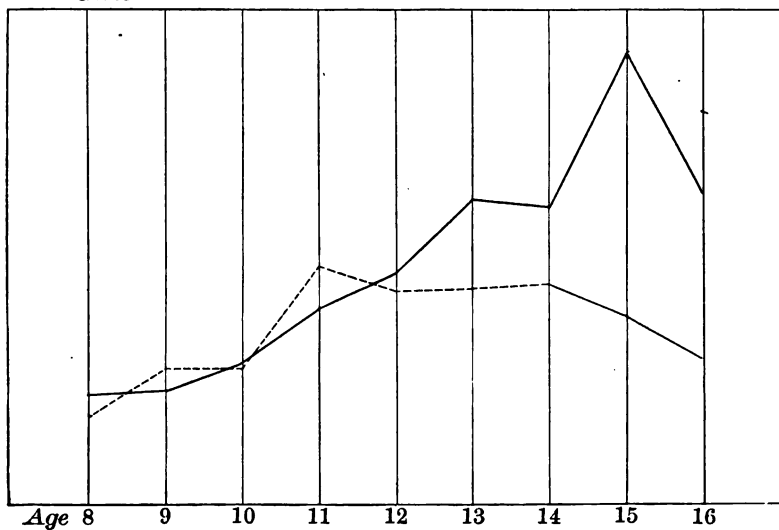
— Boys
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Chart 1. Who



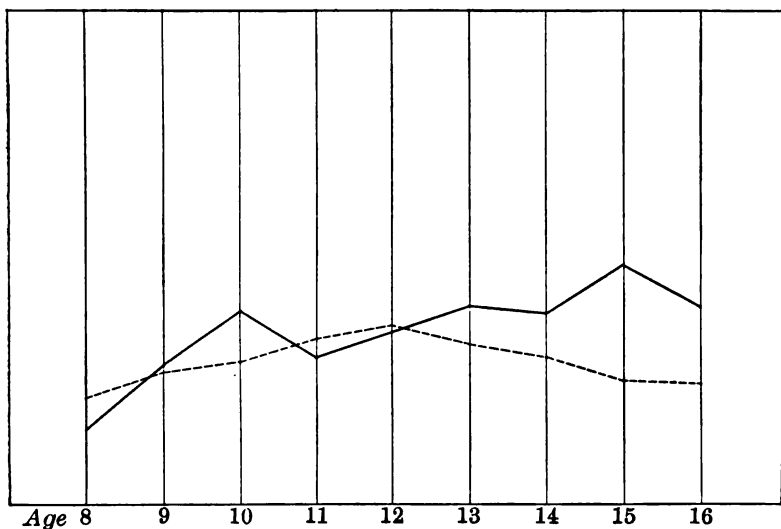
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Chart 2. Where



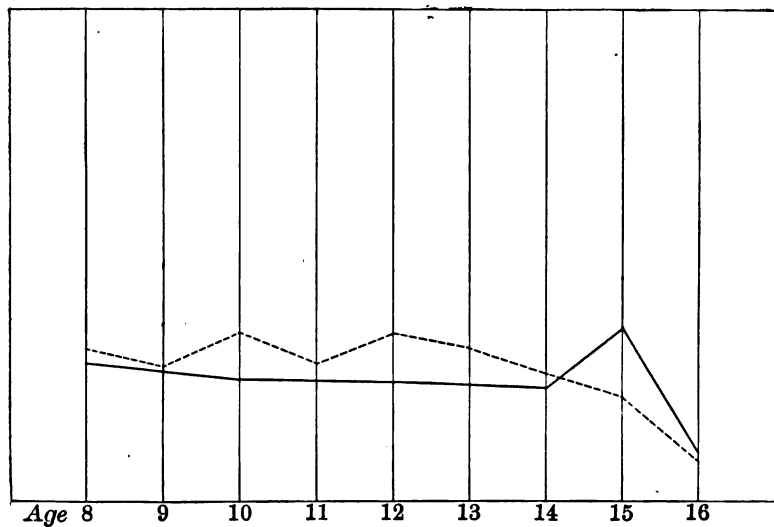
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Chart 3. How



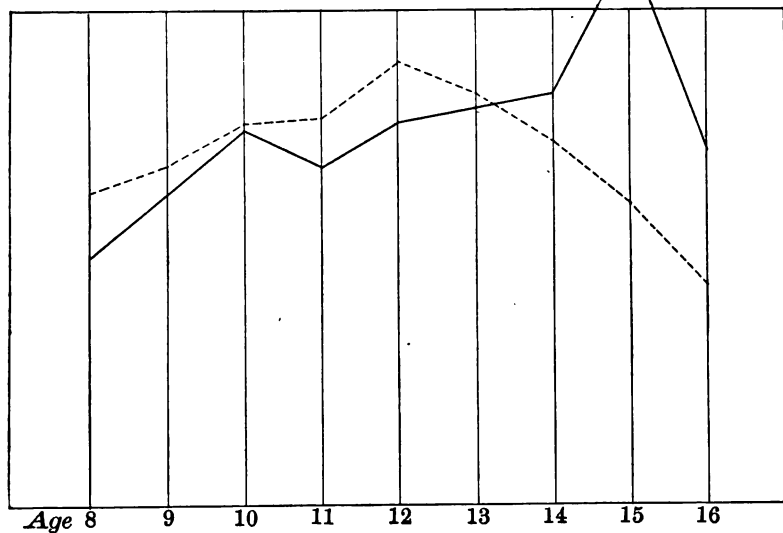
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Chart 4. Why



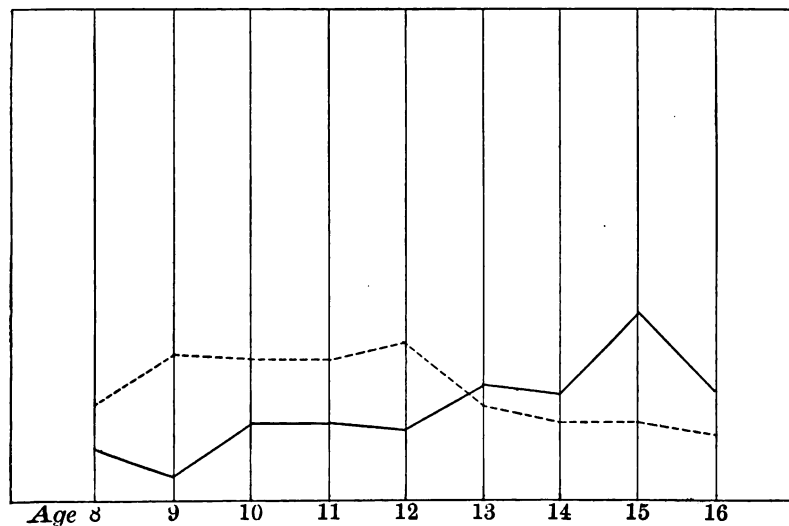
*Chart 5. How Why
Result*

— Boys
- - - Girls



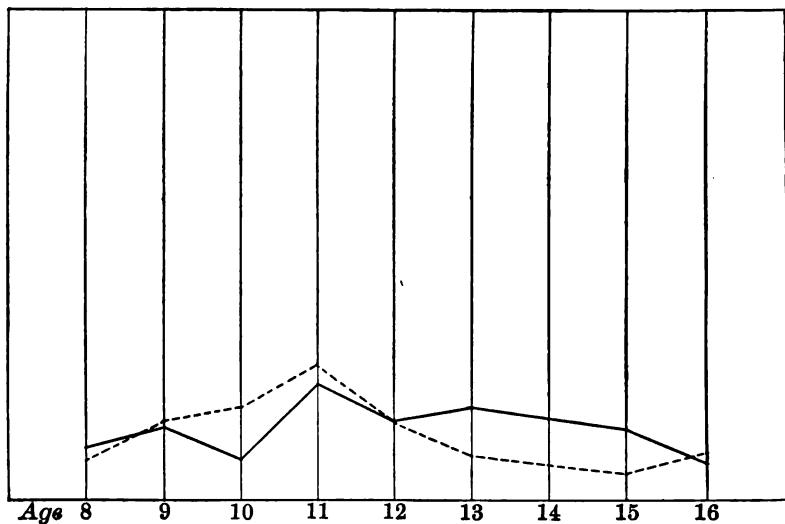
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Chart 6. Personal detail and feelings



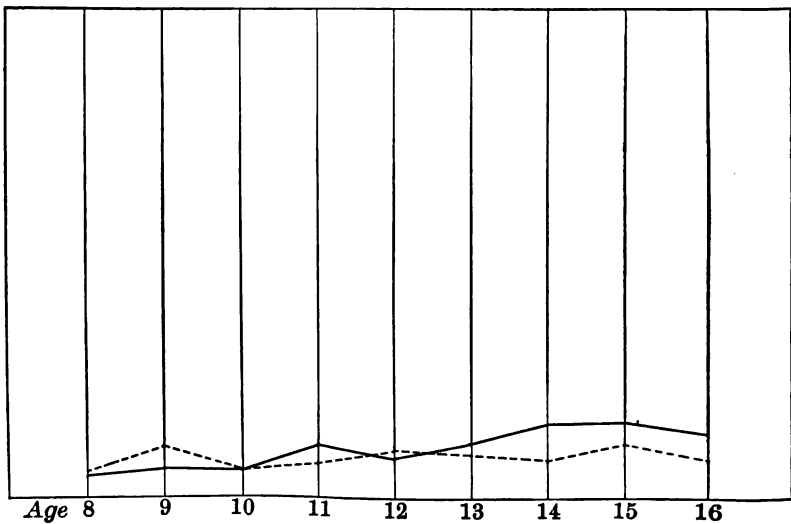
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Chart 7. General detail



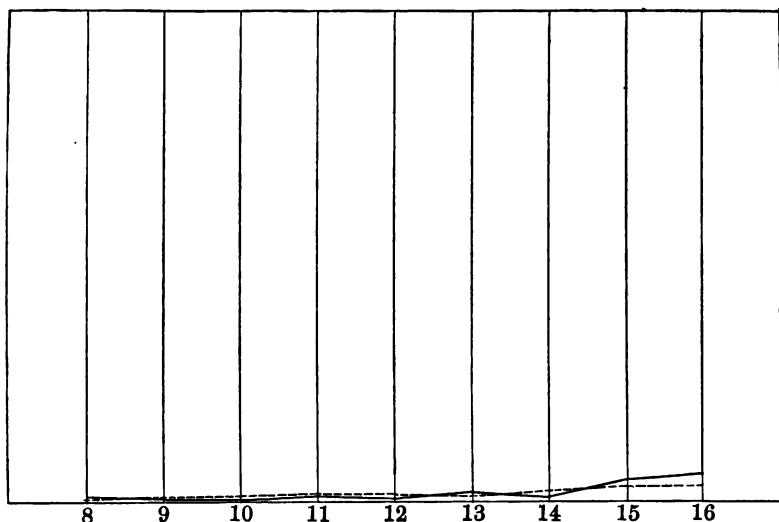
—— Boys
 - - - - Girls

Chart 8. Time



—— Boys
 - - - - Girls

Chart 9. Truth of Narrative.



third. The interest in time is comparatively slight, but very steady. The same is true as to the interest in the truth of the narrative. The interest in general and personal detail is very much less than one might previously expect. The main interest, after all, follows the strong lines of action, and asks for a clear presentation of persons, places, relations of cause and effect; to which may be added in due but slight proportions, time, ethics, expansive detail.¹

This point of interest has also been examined in our experi-

¹ Since these tests were made, two new studies have been made which throw a decided light upon the interest which children have, not only in persons and places, but in names as such. Clara Vostrovsky, in a study on children's own stories, and Agnes Holbrook, in a study on memories of things read, both found names to be a very prominent element. This relates itself, again, to the interest which primitive peoples have in names, and the great importance they attach to them. This is a subject which will repay further investigation. The indications are at present that names should by all means be emphasized in our historical work. See *Studies in Education*, ed. by Earl Barnes, Stanford University, Calif., July, Aug., 1896.

mental school at Stanford in another way. A new story was told the children containing all the above particulars, fully expanded. After the lapse of a week or two the children were asked to reproduce it. The result of this test was very confirmatory of the test of the tale of Troy. A full account of it is given in her special study on the historic memory of children, by Miss Anna Kohler, p. 81.

Not only does this test reveal the comparative interest in historical elements, but it seems to indicate certain sex differences in the matter of curiosity. Boys appear more curious in regard to who, where, and how; girls show a greater curiosity as to why; and the curiosity of boys, with this one exception, is not only greater than that of girls, but culminates later. In regard to matters of time, truth, and general detail, we cannot see any difference between the sexes.

In order to make a special test of the power of inference, the children were asked to write down their answers to the following question:—

If you were shipwrecked on an island in the middle of the sea, and you found in one corner of the island an old house of logs, and part of an old wooden boat, with broken arrows in the bottom of it, what would these things tell you?

The following are typical examples of our returns:—

1. *Inferences of a boy of eight.*—If you was shipwrecked on a island you would be in a fix. Were there Indians on the island. and Soldiers might have been on to.

2. *Inferences of girls of nine.*—(a) If I saw a house on the island it would show me someone lived there; and if I saw a boat I would think it was a fisherman's house, and the broken arrows looks like the fisherman had been whaling. (b) The old boat I would of taken away and form the house some logs to fix the bottom of the boat and sailed to shore but if the tide was to high I would of taken the logs of the house and build it higher so as not to let the waves get over the boat and with the rest of the logs made oars.

3. *Inferences of girl of ten (somewhat above average).*—I should think that there were Indians wrecked and that they built a log house for shelter until

somebody might come to rescue them, and the boat was theirs; the arrows were the only weapon they had to defend themselves. They might have lived there a good many years and might have been rescued or they might have died of starvation, before I had started with my crew of men and before I had been wrecked.

4. *Inferences of boy of eleven.* — The house of logs would tell me that some civilized person lived there that knew how to build. The arrows would tell me that they had no firearms and had to have some kind of a weapon. The wooden boat would tell me that whoever lived there was not afraid of drowning and that he had some means of fishing. All of them together would tell me that some one else had been shipwrecked before that he had been gone a long time by the decayed look.

5. *Inferences of girls of twelve and thirteen.* — (a) I could tell by those things that there have been people living on the island. I can tell by the logs, trees have been growing there. I can tell by the boat there have been people that go out in the boat and catch things. I can tell by the arrows they have shot something. (b) If I were shipwrecked on an island in the middle of the sea, and found a log house and part of an old wooden boat with broken arrows in the bottom of it, I would think that many years ago, some one had been cast on the island and built himself the house. For the presence of the arrows, I would account by saying, that part of the crew of a ship had gone on an island, for the purpose, — as the captain thought, — of gathering cocoanuts, but in reality of planning how to take the ship. One man, suspecting their intentions, waits till they have gone into the interior of the island, then springs into the boat, reaches the island in safety; and, having found out the mutineers' plans, is about to return secretly to the ship, when he is discovered, and pursued. He reaches the water's edge, jumps into the boat, and escapes the flying arrows shot after him. Darkness falling, he cannot determine the position of the ship, and after being tossed for a few days on the waves, he reaches this island, builds himself a house, and lives here until he is rescued by a passing ship.

6. *Inferences of boys of twelve and thirteen.* — (a) If I was shipwrecked on an island and saw these things they would tell me that some man many year's ago was shipwrecked and had built a hut to live in. He built a boat and very often went out for a sail. One day when he just pulling in his boat, a band of indians sprang out from the bushes and sent a volley of arrows at him. The only weapon he had was a revolver, running behind a tree beat them back. A few days after thinking all was well he launched his boat, when, as suddenly as before a much greater body rushed in on him. Before he had time to load the indians had sent hundreds of arrows, he fought bravely with sticks and stones but it was no use and was soon killed and his body taken to another island and eaten. (b) These things would tell me that somebody had lived

there a long time ago. I think that they had been partly civilized because the log house would be made by a civilized person. The arrows might and they might not indicate that they were savage because people a long time ago used arrows before guns were ever thought of.

7. *Good critical inference of girl of fifteen.* — That somebody had been there before me. That they must have been there a long while ago. That they must have been warriors, or else contended with some people who were warriors. That they knew how to build houses out of logs, and must have had something to cut the trees down with. That they knew how to build boats, and had probably explored a little in one. That they must have known how to cultivate the land and to raise grain or such things.

8. *Good critical inference of boy of fifteen.* — It had been inhabited by Indians. That they knew something about houses. That they knew how to make boats. That the island had trees on it. That they had no fire arms. That the people had tools.

9. *Poor critical inference of girl of sixteen.* — I should at first think some other poor creature had shared my fate, but on further consideration, my thoughts turn to pirates and Indians, and I wonder which of these three, I am correct about. The last two are more probable, as a shipwrecked man would have a hard time making these things, without tools, which would have been impossible for him to bring with him. So I come to the conclusion that this island was either inhabited, at one time or other, by pirates or Indians.

Every one of these papers would repay critical individual study; but looking at the mass, the inferences class themselves under the following rubrics: —

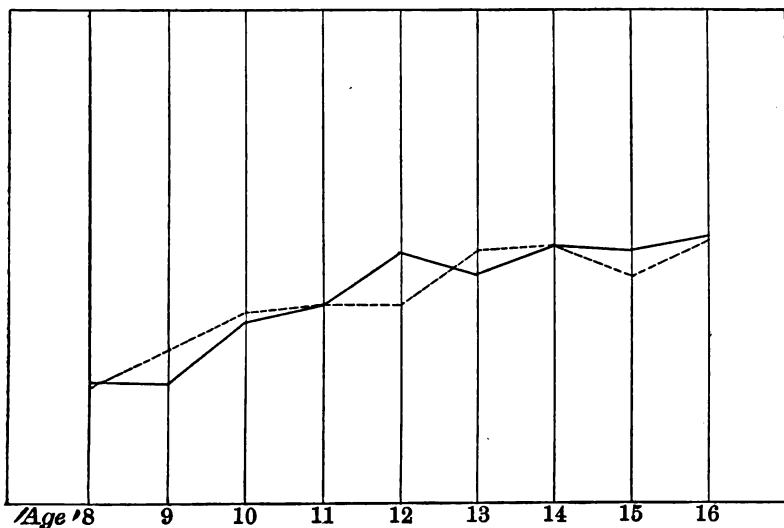
1. As to persons formerly on the island, — shipwrecked, savage, civilized; indefinite, special, and imaginary characters. 2. As to the house, — built, found. 3. As to the boat, — built, used for hunting or fishing, used for pleasure, brought people to shore. 4. As to the arrows, — made, used in fighting or in hunting. 5. As to the desertion of the island, — on account of violent death, departure, natural death. 6. As to time. 7. As to a personal relation to objects. 8. Imaginary inferences. 9. Miscellaneous.

The accompanying chart, No. 10, shows the result of this test as to the number of inferences made. It will be noted that this number rises decidedly at the ages of twelve for boys and thirteen for girls, to an average which is kept fairly steady within the ages examined, with a constant tendency to rise, which calls for further

investigation within the higher ages. As to the character of inference, Chart 11 shows the number of legitimate inferences decidedly pronounced at twelve for boys and thirteen for girls, and this development continues fairly steady, with some superiority on the side of boys, until the age of fifteen, thus supporting the curves showing number of inferences.

—— Boys
----- Girls

Chart 10. Number of Inferences



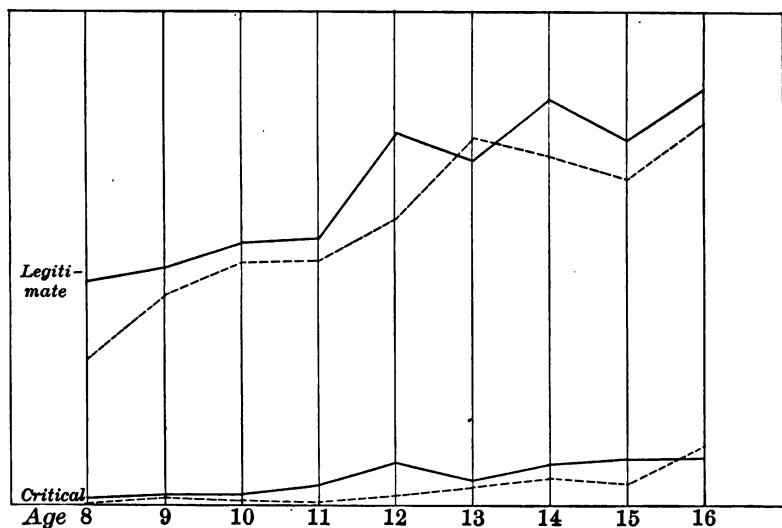
Aside from the common, legitimate inferences, such as, "Some savage race must have lived here because there are arrows," there are three classes of inferences which deserve special attention: The personal, as in examples 1 and 2 *b*; the imaginative, as in examples 5 *b* and 6 *a*; the critical, as in examples 6 *b*, 7, and 8.

One may say that the personal inference, strongest with young children, disappears, to all intents and purposes, by the age of ten or eleven. Even at the age of eight it does not compare with the impersonal and legitimate inferences.

The appearance of imaginative inference, as we might expect, follows the general rule for inference, developing strongly at eleven with boys, and steadily increasing with girls, with no marked variation. (See Chart 12.)

The cases of violent death may also be taken as inferences, which show the presence and development of the fancy. The

—— Boys Chart 11. *Legitimate and Critical Inference.*
 ----- Girls



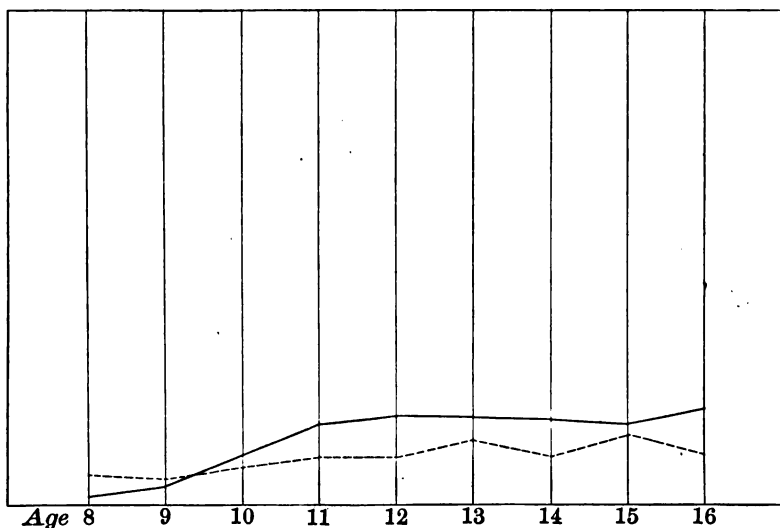
legitimate inference is that the people have disappeared in some way: without further evidence, we cannot say how; and if we do say how, as that they were killed by savages, or starved to death, or drowned, it is by force of fancy. The series of figures for this particular run as follows: —

Age	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BOYS	0	0	33	67	120	230	224	220	264	250
GIRLS	0	75	64	68	91	125	126	121	180	75

This series confirms the notion that the imagination and the power of inference run parallel. Here, again, we find a series increasing up to the age of sixteen more regularly with girls, more irregularly in boys, and superior in the latter.

As for critical inferences, such as we find in examples 7 and 8, their number is small; and within the ages examined, the boys are slightly but distinctly superior to the girls. (See Chart 11.)

— Boys
 ---- Girls *Chart 12 Imaginative Inference.*



One day we tried this same test orally in the experimental school at Stanford. I had expected interest from my former experience, but I was greatly struck by the eagerness which the children displayed. It was as if I had opened a gate, and they ran wildly out hither and thither, making new discoveries. They not only wanted to tell me that there were people who lived there before, but that they were civilized, that they fished and hunted, and went

in boats on the sea. They also wanted to tell me how they might have disappeared, — by drowning, starvation, or slaughter. One boy said that perhaps we could find their bones, and then we would know how old they were. I assented to this, and happened to speak of the teeth, whereupon another boy capped the climax by saying quite soberly that perhaps they had false teeth. Their minds simply ran from inference to inference without effort, but with very little critical power. These children were mostly below twelve years of age.

Summing up our evidence as to inference, then, the power is present at the earliest age examined; it develops strongly into legitimate and imaginative inference at the ages of twelve and thirteen. On the critical side the power is rare, but, when present, clear and strong from the age of thirteen upward.

In general, I have noticed this point in regard to this study in inference: that it varies more from school to school, in regard to number and character of inferences, than any other test set; from which I take it that inference is subject to great modification by teaching.

A study by Mr. M. A. Tucker of Stanford University on this same subject shows that doubt begins to show itself about the age of thirteen, which is another way of saying that criticism begins at that age. His work also confirms the observation that personal inference ceases about twelve or thirteen.

The sense of evidence was examined by the two following tests: —

1. Write down something that happened before you were born, and that you know is true, and tell me how you know it is true.
2. How do you know that such a man as George Washington ever lived?

Even at the age of eight the children seem to show in hazy forms all possible variations of the sense of evidence. The following examples will illustrate: —

1. *Girl's evidence from family hearsay or tradition.* — My mother's grandfather got killed in the battle of waterlue. I know it is true because my mothers mother told her when she was a little girl and she told me.

2. *Girl's evidence from general hearsay.* — Because I have heard things about things that he did.

3. *Girl's evidence from a relic.* — I know that George Washington lived, because I saw a picture of him.

4. *Girl's evidence from general reading.* — I know that George Washington lived because it was in the geography.

5. *Girl's evidence from logic.* — I know that my mother was in Berkeley before I was. The reason I know it is because she is older than me.

6. *Boy's evidence from logic.* — I know that such a man as George Washington lived because he fought bravely in many battels. And another reason he never told a lie.

Another amusing example of this is the following: —

I know that George Washington lived because he did not get killed by the Indins.

7. *Boy's evidence from eye-witness.* — This school was built before I was born. Because I know a lady went to this school before I was born.

The following are typical answers from children above the age of eight: —

1. *Evidence from the Bible by a girl of nine.* — Before I was born Adam and Eve died, and thats why everybody else dies. The way I know it is true because it tells in the Bible.

2. *Evidence from an anniversary by a boy of ten.* — I know that George Washington lived because if he didnt they wouldnt celebrate his birthday.

3. *Evidence from logic by a boy of ten.* — I know why such a man as George Washington lived, because he was so good and true, and would sooner die than stain his lips to tell a lie.

4. *Evidence of a boy of ten drawn from reason, hearsay, and reading.* — I know because there are so many books written about him, and I've heard so much about him, and it must be true.

5. *Evidence of boy of ten resting on family hearsay or tradition.* — My mother had to brothers fighting in North and South war, to get slaves free. One of them got wounded and died but the other got out all write but he only lived about one year after he came out of the war: I no that was true because my mother told me.

6. *Evidence from relics of boy of eleven.* — I know that such a man as George Washington lived because I saw his knives and forks and all such things that belonged to him at Smith's Sonian Instute in Washington D.C. and he is the farther of our country because he at war wone it.

Another example is the following:—

I know that such a man as George Washington lived, because while coming from the east we went past Mt. Vernon and we seen the place where he used to live.

7. *Evidence from history by a boy of eleven.*—I know that George Washington lived because it tells us in history about him and history tells the truth.

8. *Evidence from relics of boy of twelve.*—I know that Indians inhabited our land before I was borne because I have seen Indians skulls in wells and have found old arrows in the hills.

9. *Critical treatment of evidence by a boy of twelve.*—The Battle of Ticonderago, that happened before I was born, I don't know it is so only what people have told me. I didn't see it so I had to believe what people tell me.

10. *Evidence from relics of a girl of twelve.*—I know that the War of 1812 is true, because my grand-father fought in it, and before he died, he had badges remaining, which he wore at the time.

11. *Critical sense as to authorities expressed by a girl of thirteen.*—Before I was born, the Acadians were banished from Acadia because our best historians say they were. We know that Washington lived because our very best histories say that he did.

12. *Evidence from eye-witnesses and relics by a boy of thirteen.*—The war of the Rebellion was fought before I was born. I know this to be a fact, because I know several men who fought in it, and my father was a boy when it was fought, and I have an old piece of Confederate money.

13. *Critical treatment of evidence by a girl of fourteen.*—I know that such a man as George Washington lived, since all histories, books of any foundation, and all people agree upon that fact. This is the only proof that I have.

14. *Evidence from relics by a girl of fourteen.*—A thing that happened before I was born was the Civil War. I know it is true for my uncle was in the war and we have a peace of the American flag and my uncle's badge and we have the papers to show also.

The whole mass of material was classified under the rubrics, and gave the results seen in Charts 13, 14, 15.

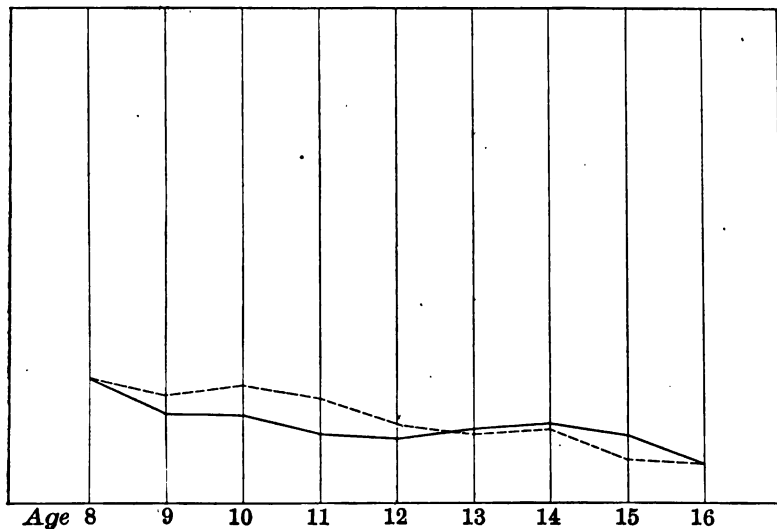
The results of this study, then, appear to be the following:—

1. That even at the age of eight the dependence on hearsay is not strikingly greater than the dependence on eye-witnesses and relics; and that this dependence constantly declines, being from the age of nine onward distinctly less and less than the dependence on historic sources.

2. That the dependence on an expert authority, as shown in distinguishing

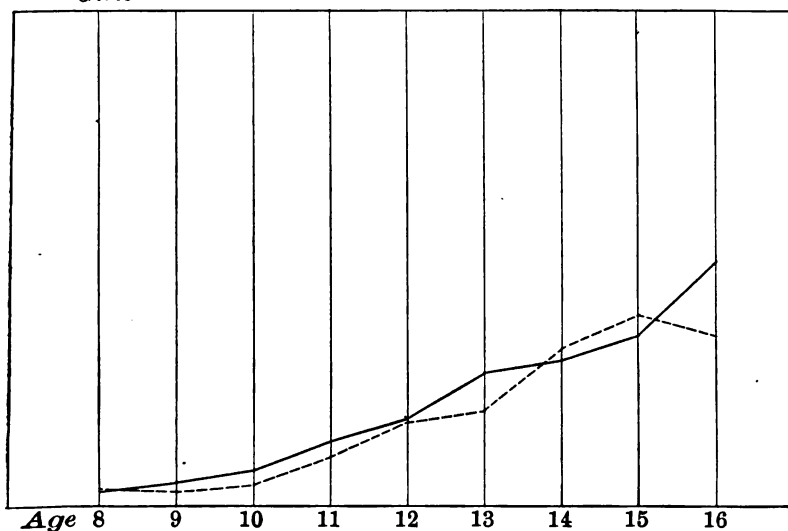
— Boys
- - - Girls

Chart 13. Evidence from Hearsay



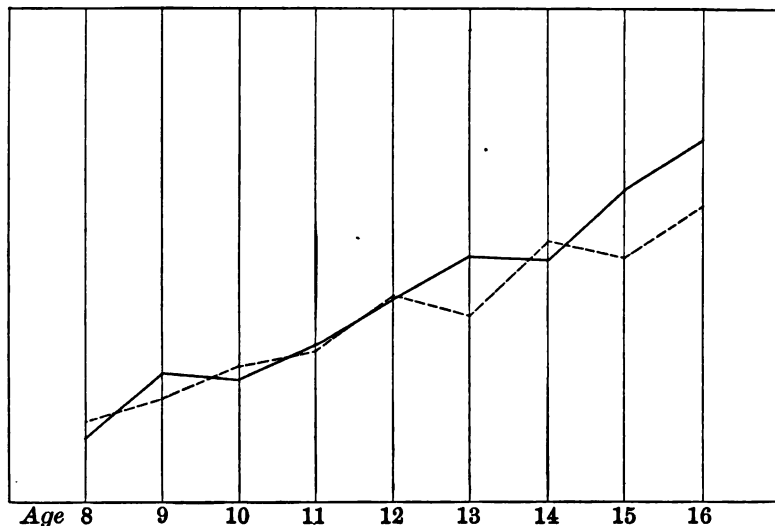
— Boys
- - - Girls

Chart 14. Evidence from Histories



— Boys
 - - - Girls

Chart 15. Evidence from Sources



histories from other books, and in distinguishing the very best from inferior histories, grows steadily and rapidly from the time of its first appearance.

3. That the dependence on original sources, such as eye-witnesses, relics, documents, decidedly present at the earliest age examined, constantly develops until, at the age of thirteen, it takes and keeps the lead over all other sorts of evidence.

4. That there is no marked sex-difference in regard to the sense of evidence.

The sense of evidence was still more exactly examined by the following test. The children were given the two following accounts of the fall of Fort Sumter:—

(a) The defence of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson was brave and stubborn. The garrison was under fire for thirty-four hours, the quarters being entirely burned, and the powder-magazine surrounded with a ring of fire; starvation, too, was staring them in the face. Anderson therefore surrendered, saluting his flag, as he marched out, with guns and drums and flying colors.

(b) Despatch from Major Anderson to Washington:—

SIR: Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed, the powder-magazine surrounded by flames, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, and marched out of the fort with colors flying and drums beating, saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

After writing down these two tests, the children were asked to write further in answer to the questions: Which of these two accounts is the better, and why? Which of these two accounts would you keep if you could only keep one, and why? It was found that children below the age of nine could do nothing with this test. The following are fair samples of answers received above that age:—

1. *From boys of ten.*—(a) I think the second account is the best and should be kept because it is the best. (b) I think it would be best to keep Anderson's because he knew more about it and because he was in the war and was the Captain.

2. *From girls of eleven.*—(a) I think the first account is the best because the men are the bravest. (b) I think that Robert Anderson's ought to be kept. Because Anderson was the General and he would know more about it so I think Anderson ought to be kept. (c) If these were the only two accounts in the world, about this matter, I think I would like to keep "B", because Major Anderson wrote it. I think it would give me pleasure, to think that I own'd something, which one of the brave men who fought in battle, wrote.

3. *Critical answer of girl of twelve.*—I think the second one is the best, because we don't know who wrote the first, and we know that Major Anderson, who was in the battle, wrote the second.

The following answers show a discriminating critical sense between an original document and a narrative drawn from it:—

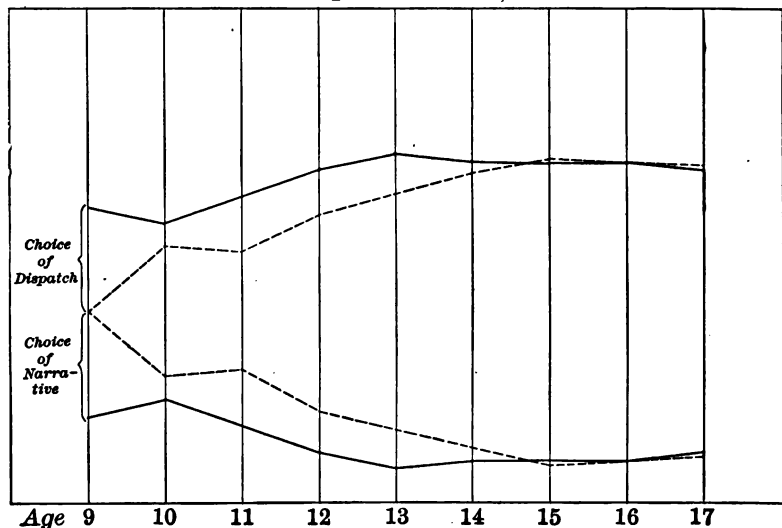
1. *From a boy of fourteen.*—I would keep Major Anderson's dispatch telling about it because it is the base upon which the other is obtained from.

2. *From a girl of fifteen.*—The dispatch is also the very words of the general himself while the other might contain incorrect statements, as it is simply a description written by some one no one knows whom.

A boy of fifteen discusses the matter at length : —

If these were the only accounts published, I should accept the last, because, coming as it does, from one who had the best chance of knowing about every part, it is more likely to be correct. Then again, it is, apparently, the official report of Major Anderson to headquarters, and such a report is sure to be true. And also, the well known fine character of Major Anderson would insure its truthfulness, while, not knowing the authorship of the other, I do not know

—— Boys
----- Girls
*Chart 16. Comparative choice of
Dispatch and Narrative*



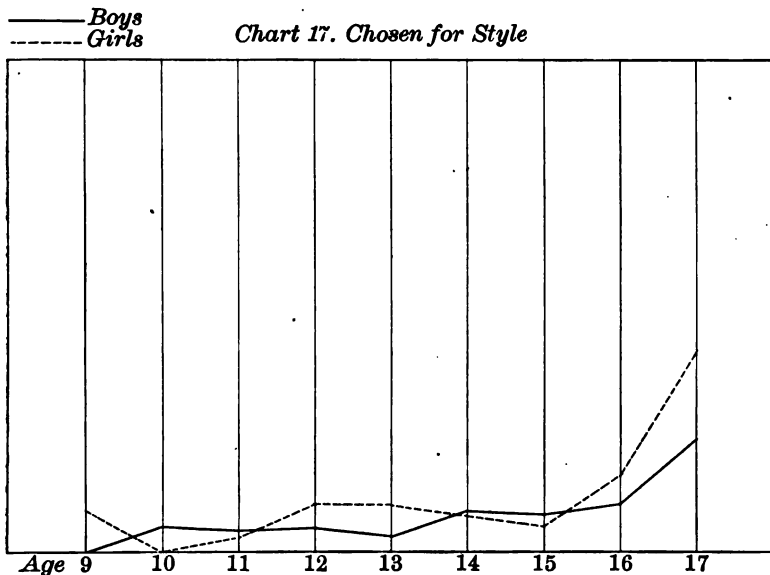
whether to believe it or not, without additional testimony, while the latter needs nothing but Major Anderson's word.

The development of the feeling for the relic is thus well expressed by another boy of fifteen : —

I like the dispatch from General Anderson to Washington, better than the historian's story about it, for the reason that General Anderson put it in his own words and was there and in danger of his life every moment and saw every-

thing and done everything, and the historian only heard about it. I would rather hear a story from a man who has been there and seen it all, that to hear one from a man who has heard it, and then told me.

The results of this study are clearer and more satisfactory than of any other, probably because the test is so simple that its results are not clouded by obscuring sidelights on a variety of other sub-

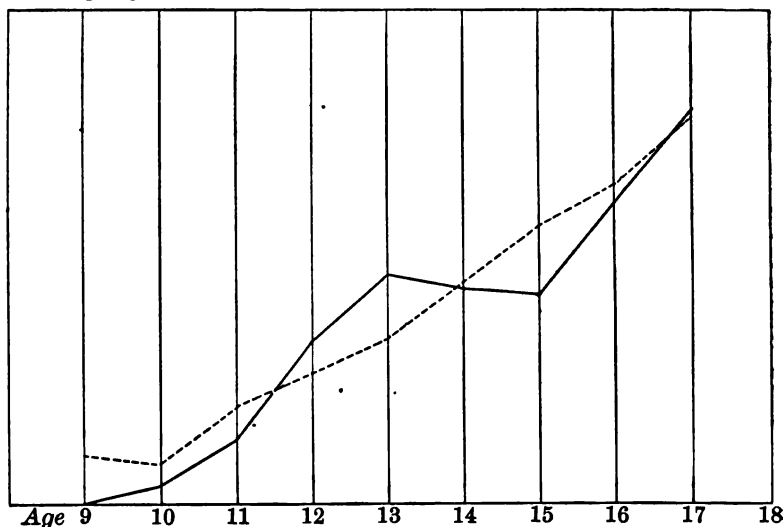


jects; they appear graphically in Charts 16–19, and may be summed up as follows: —

1. We find very slight traces of sex-difference.
2. From the age of nine onward, original material is preferred to secondary.
3. This choice rests on three bases: —
 - (a) The love for a relic, a visible connection with the past.
 - (b) The desire for a genuine piece of evidence.
 - (c) The critical sense of difference between an original and a derived account.

The first two bases shade into each other imperceptibly; the third is rare, but present in clear and definite form from the age of thirteen upwards, being slightly superior in boys. Its rapid increase upward indicates that it does not reach its limit within the ages examined. This curve confirms those given in connection with critical inference, as well as those resulting from the general test on evidence.

——— *Boys* *Chart 18, Dispatch chosen because True, signed etc.*
 - - - - - *Girls*



The following questions of reminiscence and observation were also sent out with the tests to be answered by adults:—

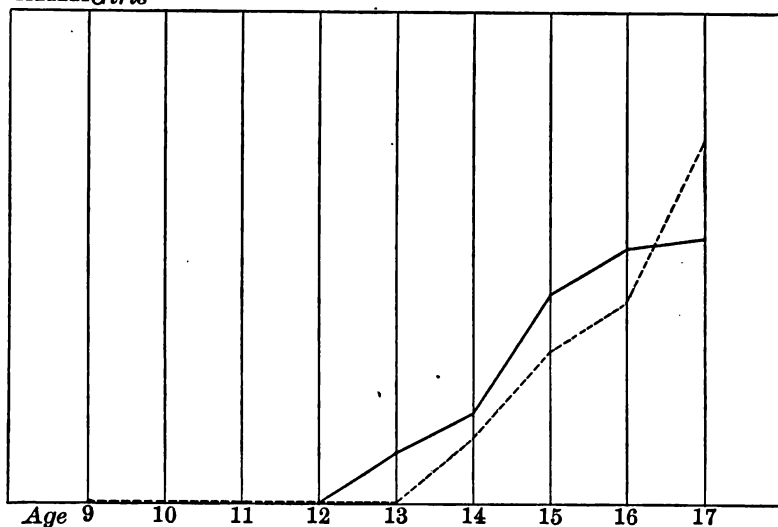
1. Describe any plays which you have seen children play, into which historical scenes, characters, or events entered; as playing war, making a voyage of discovery, playing George Washington, and the like.

2. Note any historical questions which you hear children ask: as, What made the people come here to live? How long have people lived here? Note any remarks or questions which show a total misconception of historical facts.

3. Note any historical poems, pictures, stories which you have known a child to produce naturally. What themes were chosen?

4. Note any cases of the preservation of relics in a child's collection, and what reason he gives for their preservation. Are they there as mere curiosities, or because he feels that they are old, and belong to a past time? Notice particularly what reasons are given for keeping Indian arrowheads, stamps, coins. The contents of a child's scrapbook may also be investigated from

Chart 19. Telegram chosen because Source from which the Narrative is drawn (Note magnified scale)
 — Boys
 - - - - Girls



this point of view, to see what selections are historical. A list of such selections as are historical, together with the statement of their comparative number, and the age at which they were selected, would be very useful.

The material collected in answer to this request was very meagre, but indicates three things: First, a clear discrimination on the part of children between true and made-up stories, and a keen interest as to which class any particular story belongs; second, a tendency

among children to picture, poetize, or dramatize their history; and third, a keen interest on the part of children in historical relics. This last observation is further confirmed by a reminiscent study on children's collections made here at Stanford University by Earl Barnes. Mrs. Dubois of Oakland, and Mrs. Hattie Mason Willard of Pasadena, have contributed to our collections interesting poems written by children under twelve years of age. Mrs. Willard and Miss Wilmattie Porter have given us some original historical pictures by children of the same age; while the tendency to dramatize history appears in numerous historical plays of the Indians, Britishers, and the like. The following charming instance is given in Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett's story of *The One I knew the Best of All*:—

"What tragic historical adventures the Doll passed through in these days; how she was crowned, discrowned, sentenced, and beheaded, and what horror the Nursery felt of wretched, unloved, heretic-burning, Bloody Mary! And through these tragedies the Nursery Sofa almost invariably accompanied her as palfrey, scaffold, dungeon, or barge from which she 'stepped to proudly, sadly, pass the Traitors' Gate.'" — *Scribner's Monthly*, January, 1893, p. 77.

Of the interest in relics Miss Alma Patterson contributes the following instances:—

1. The children of the second and third grades, seven to ten years old, evinced a lively interest in the old cannon which had been used in taking San Diego from the Mexicans. Several told me of the fortifications on Mission Heights, of seeing the cannon half-buried in earth, and what they had heard of the Mexican life at Old Town at the time of the siege. They asked who took Old Town, how many ships he had, where he landed, and how he reached the town, and if any one was killed.

2. In response to a request for flags for a special occasion, a little boy of eight years brought me a flag which his father had carried through the Civil War. He recounted the battles in chronological order, told me a little of the geography, and related an incident which I knew to be true. He seemed much interested in the flag, and very proud of the fact that his father had held it when one of the bullet-holes was made in it. The class of forty boys and girls, seven to nine years old, asked questions eagerly about the flag; "Where did it come from?" "What makes it so dirty?" "What made the holes in it?"

"Were they real bullets out of a gun?" "What did they want to shoot at the flag for?" "Do you think it was right to have a war?" One boy said afterward, "Couldn't it tell a lot of stories, though!" The children seemed to feel still more interest after I had given them a brief account of it, and several lingered to see it more closely, and one to "touch the old flag."

The results of this study indicate —

1. A main interest in persons and actions, causes and results.
2. A good power of inference developing at about the age of thirteen.
3. A strong interest in original sources, developing into a conscious sense of evidence about the age of thirteen.

Conclusions as to method are summed up on pp. 100-105.

SPECIAL STUDY ON THE HISTORIC MEMORY OF CHILDREN.

BY

ANNA KÖHLER.

For a year past a little class in history has been taught in the Experimental School connected with the Department of Education in Stanford University under the direction of Mary Sheldon Barnes. Tests have been given from time to time to show the progress of the children and the success of the methods employed. One of these is here presented as illustrating a method of investigation, and as throwing some light on the question as to what elements in an historical story most strongly appeal to children and take most lasting hold upon their memories.

The story of Charlemagne was first carefully written by the teacher, and then told to the class on two successive days, taking a half-hour each day. After an interval of a week, during which time no mention was made in the class of Charlemagne, the children were asked to reproduce his story. All the time desired was given to them, the class finishing in an hour and a half. Five children took the test, three boys and two girls. It is to be noted that this test differs from those before reported on, in being given to a small number of children, each well known to the teacher.

The following is the story as given to the children : —

All of the country called France, and part of Germany and Switzerland, was ruled over by a people called Franks. In the year 750 the king of this country died, and left the empire to be divided between his two sons, Carloman and Charlemagne. Charlemagne, of whom we are to learn the most, was at this time thirty years old, and seven times as tall as his foot was long. He was a very strong man, with light hair and beard, and a laughing expression on his face. He wore a linen shirt and trousers, shoes and stockings, and over his linen suit a tunic trimmed with silk. On cold days he wore an extra coat made out of the skins of otters, and then over all this he wore a blue cloak with his sword at his belt. This was his everyday dress — for of course on festive days he would dress better, with jewels and more silk. When the country was divided, he received the part which is now Germany, and part of north-eastern France; and Carloman, his brother, had the land in the north and south of France. The western part of France was divided equally between them; but there were some people there who did not like to be ruled over at all, so they revolted, and Charlemagne had to march to the western part of France with an army to make them behave. Carloman went too, as part was his land; but he got mad on the way down, and went back, leaving Charlemagne to fight all alone. He quieted the people, and soon after this his brother died; and the brother's wife, who thought Charlemagne did not like her, took her two little sons and went into Italy to live. The people now made Charlemagne king over all the empire of France. About this time Charlemagne promised to marry a princess who lived in the northern part of Italy; but he changed his mind, and said he wouldn't marry her. This made the people in northern Italy, or Lombardy as the place was called, very angry that their princess should be treated thus; and they asked the Pope of Rome, Hadrian, who was the head of everything, to put one of the sons of Carloman back on the throne of his father, and take it away from Charlemagne. But

Pope Hadrian would not do this, and the Lombards marched down and began to attack Rome. The Pope had to send for Charlemagne to come to help him; and with an army Charlemagne marched over the Alps, and conquered the Lombards, making many of them prisoners. Charlemagne was now king over Italy as well as France, and this added much to his power. To the Pope, Charlemagne gave some cities and presents, and made him think that he had more power than he really had.

Charlemagne was a Christian, and built a beautiful church at Aix-la-Chapelle, with doors of gold and silver, marble and granite pillars, and he hired a great many men to do this work for him. There were so many things to do in this big empire that Charlemagne could not stay at one place to see that things were going on as he wished, so he had to give the work into the hands of some one else. The building of the church he left to a monk, who was to pay the workmen, and furnish the gold and silver needed. But this monk discharged a lot of the men, and kept the money, and piled it in chests until he had a big fortune. One day the house where he kept all his wealth caught on fire, and he came running in to save some of his chests. He was not satisfied with taking out one, but piled three on his shoulders, and on going out a beam of the burning house fell upon him and killed him; so Charlemagne got all of his gold and silver again. Another time Charlemagne wanted a beautiful bell for this church, and one man told him he would make the most beautiful bell in the world if he would give him silver enough with which to make it. Charlemagne, not caring for money, gave the man all he needed to make a fine silver bell. But the man used only a little of the silver, and made the bell mostly of copper. When it was finished, Charlemagne was called to sound it; and, as it sounded very well, the men raised it up in the belfry, and one man tried to ring it by pulling the rope. He couldn't make the bell ring, and many other men tried: no one could make it sound, so the man who made the bell was sent for; and when he pulled the rope the bell fell down

on his head and killed him. Then Charlemagne found all of the silver that had been stolen. Charlemagne furnished the church with beautiful things, and no one was allowed to work around the church with poor clothes on; for all were furnished with good things to wear.

In the part of Germany bordering on eastern France lived the Saxons, and they were not Christians. They made raids upon the Franks, and tormented them so, that for thirty years Charlemagne was fighting them. Finally they agreed to become Christians if Charlemagne would not fight any more.

In the year 800 Charlemagne went to Rome to pray in the great church of St. Peter's; and, when he entered the church, Pope Leo, who was the Pope after Pope Hadrian, placed a crown on his head, and all the people shouted, "Long live Charles the Great, crowned Emperor Augustus of Rome."

When he was seventy years old he died, and was buried in a tomb in the beautiful church at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a gilded tower was erected over his tomb.

This story consists of nine general groups of detail : —

1. Personal description of Charlemagne.
2. Division of empire between him and Carloman.
3. Revolt of people, death of Carloman, and sole reign of Charlemagne.
4. Charlemagne's relations with Italy.
5. Chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle.
6. Story of bell.
7. Relations of Saxons to the Franks.
8. Crowning of Charlemagne.
9. Charlemagne's death and burial.

These groups, analyzed and collated with the reproductions of the children, are to be seen in the accompanying table of groups. The total number of details contained in these nine groups, and collated from the original story, is one hundred and thirty-two. Forty-nine of these is the highest number remembered by any one child, and nineteen the lowest number, thirty-three being the average;

Group 4

	Time	Charlemagne's promises	Italy	Changed mind	Angered people	Lombardy	Treatment of Princess	Request to Hadrian	Take away from Charlemagne	Pope Hadrian said "No"	Lombards attacked Rome	Pope sent for Charlemagne	Charlemagne marched over alps	With Army	Conquered Lombards	Took prisoners	King over Italy	Increased power	Charlemagne gave present to Pope	Power
Reginald													+							
Anita																				
Helen	/										+				-		-			
Melville																				
Darwin																				

Group 5

	Charlemagne a Christian	Alta-Chapelle	Bull chapel	Doors	Gold-Silver	Marble	Granite	Pillars	Hired men	Charlemagne busy	Could not attend to work	Monk	Ray workmen	Furnish Gold and Silver	Time	Decharges men	Kept money	Ryld in Chels	Big fortune	House burned	Gave chests	One not enough	Took three	on his shoulder	Beam fell	Kill'd monks	Charlemagne got silver and gold
Reginald		/	/								/	/					/	+		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Anita		/	/								/	/					/	+		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Helen		/	/	/	+							/					/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Melville			/	/								/					/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Darwin			/									/					/	+		/	/	/	+	/	/	/	

Group 6

[illegible]

Group 9

[illegible]

Group 8

[illegible]

Group 7

[illegible]

sixteen details (marked with a +) were remembered incorrectly, and six new ones were added.

In the first group there are fifteen items, as given in the table. Comparing these with the details remembered, we find that all the personal details are omitted by every child except one, who notes the age. All remembered the name Charlemagne; four remembered the father; three remembered his death; three remembered the time; two remembered the place; one remembered Carloman, but only as brother of Charlemagne, — "Charles had a brother; they became kings after their father died."

The second group contains five details relating to the division of the empire. All but one recall the items, and two errors occur.

The revolt and the establishment of Charlemagne's rule is the third group, and contains twelve details. Only three make an attempt to recall these details, four of which are given incorrectly by Reginald, who, in addition to his mistakes, puts the whole group at the end of his story.

The fourth group, in regard to Charlemagne's relations to Lombardy, and his becoming King of Italy, containing in all twenty details, was not dealt with connectedly by any one; and, of the sum of seven details remembered collectively, two were errors. Melvin and Reginald confused this group with the crowning of Charlemagne; and Helen made one error in regard to the Lombards attacking Rome.

Twenty-eight items made up the fifth group, — the building of the chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle. All but one reproduced this group; and the details remembered by the children stand as follows: —

1. Charlemagne built a chapel.
2. Put man in charge.
3. Gave him money to pay the men.
4. Man put the money in a house.
5. House burned.
6. Saved three chests.
7. Beam fell.
8. Killed man.

In the sixth group, giving the story of the bell, the details are twenty-five in number, of which from twelve to sixteen were remembered, as seen in the table.

It will be noted that the mass of detail omitted in this group is connected with the description of the chapel. This reminds us of the omission of the personal description of Charlemagne, and is further emphasized by a previous study on Alfred the Great, where all detailed descriptions of Alfred and the peasant's hut were omitted.

The next group, relating to the Saxons, was omitted by all.

The eighth group, relating to the crowning of Charlemagne, although it must be said that it consists mainly of dramatic action, is but lightly touched by two.

The ninth group, in regard to the death and burial, is entirely omitted.

We can conclude from the facts revealed by the above study:—

1. Children remember that which is necessary to the progress of an action, rather than word-pictures descriptive of conditions. Thus, details connected with personal appearance seem to make a slight impression on children. Has this any relation to their contentment with rude drawings of people?

2. It will be seen by the accompanying chart that the children remembered items by groups; the details were not related to the story as a whole, but to the groups in which they occurred. This is seen again in the fact that whole groups are omitted. As with details in the groups, so with the groups, those containing the most action are the best remembered.

3. The chart also shows that what the children remember at all they remember quite accurately.

4. In examining the sort of details remembered, the chart indicates that those are best remembered which are connected with the objects or actions within the children's experience. A further test might well be made of this point.

In turning from the general to the particular study of the chil-

dren, we note first the number of details given by each child. The record stands as follows:—

	AGE.	NUMBER DETAILS REMEMBERED.	DETAILS INCORRECTLY REMEMBERED.	NUMBER ADDED.
Reginald,	11	19	6	0
Anita,	10	26	1	0
Helen,	9	49	2	4
Melvin,	9	40	2	0
Darwin,	9	38	5	2

Reginald shows the weakest memory, remembering only nineteen details; he also confuses this story with that of Haroun-al-Raschid, given some days before. He puts the division of the empire at the end of his story, showing he had not a clear idea of the sequence of events; and he begins the story, "There was once a King who had two sons," instead of using the original form, thus throwing the story at once into the natural personal form it assumes in his memory.

Anita remembers twenty-six details, of which one is a mistake. She changes "once he wanted a fine bell made" to the more dramatic form, "Charlemagne told the man to make a fine bell." She makes an inference when mention is made in regard to the bell being all right, saying, "it rang clear and sweet" when they sounded it. She particularizes the man who made the bell as a monk. In one instance she adds a definite time-limitation, "one Sunday," and adds as a moral, "so some bad people get the worst of it."

Darwin makes five errors in the thirty-nine details remembered. He and Helen speak of the man putting the silver into a house, and complete the description, Helen by "locking the house," and Darwin by making it a "little house." Darwin inserts the word *dishonest* before monk; he makes the doors of the chapel of tin instead of gold and silver. In speaking of the man who made the bell, Darwin, as well as Anita, describes him particularly as a "monk." Darwin adds in reference to the bell, "the man wanted

to keep the silver;" also "at one time they couldn't get the bell to ring." He, as well as the others, shows a tendency towards dramatic action, as seen in such expressions as, "He thought to himself," "Hurrah for Charlemagne!"

Melvin is next to Helen in the number of details remembered, recalling forty. Of these, two are errors: he makes the doors of the chapel of copper instead of gold and silver; and the bell of brass instead of copper and silver. In order to explain matters, he uses such turns of phrase as, "Charlemagne had to go down to fight," "the man did not want to put all the gold in the chapel," "People liked Charlemagne," "the man thought he would keep the silver." He further defines the relationship of the parties by saying, "he gave the man who was at the head of his workmen a lot of silver."

Helen remembers the highest number of details. She has a tendency to note the element of time, as seen in the phrases, "after a while," "came right away," "once." As a reason for discharging his assistants in the chapel story, she inserts, "the man thought he would like the gold and silver;" in the story of the bell, again, she says, "the man thought he would keep the bell." She gives as a cause of Carloman's return, "Carloman got afraid." Helen calls the man who pulled the rope the "sexton," and adds, "servants to bring the man who made the bell to Charlemagne." Further additions are the expressions, "So he came and said, 'Oh it's all right,'" and, "the man pulled hard." Helen not only remembers most, but most accurately. In the division of the empire she states definitely the share of each, and where an exact term is not given she is inclined to supply one; as, "when Carloman was half there." She also shows the greatest desire for understanding the causation of events. This, together with the facts noted above, indicate that Helen is the child with the best natural historic sense.

The value of these special studies of individual children lies in learning how each of them is related to the general statements as to average, so that we may know how to apply our generalities

of method to each particular case. Thus, we learn that in the case of Helen we have little to do save in the way of furnishing opportunity; with Reginald, we will insist not on his remembering much, but on his remembering well, and will take particular pains to see that he understands what he reads or is told in this subject.

This study of the individual children has also revealed two or three other general points: one is, a tendency toward dramatic expression; another, that where reasons are not given, the children seek to supply the deficiency; and possibly a fondness on the part of children for definite detail is seen in such changes as that of man to "monk" or "sexton."

The points as to the historical memory developed by this study as a whole are:—

The number of details which a child can carry away from a connected narrative is not much above fifty, and their number should be accordingly limited. In the story of Charlemagne, as at first told, nearly three times as many details were given as could be remembered; the name, however, was not forgotten.

Be careful to tell the story accurately the first time, since the memory of the children is remarkably exact in the field covered by it.

Mass the details in groups about central characters or incidents, since the memory holds them in these connected units.

Let action lead the story, which should be dominated by some leading character or event; omit detailed descriptions of buildings, dress, and persons which are aside from the main line of the story.

Make the connections of cause and effect, since the minds of the children demand this sort of connection, and this connection will undoubtedly assist the memory.

Dramatize the form wherever possible, since the children naturally remember the action in this form.

The original story, modified by these criticisms, stands something as follows:—

In the year 750 there was a king who ruled over the countries we know now as France, Switzerland, and part of Germany. He had two sons, called Charlemagne and Carloman. Before he died he called these two sons to him, and said, "Carloman, you are to have the northern and southern parts of France for yours; and, Charlemagne, you are to have all the eastern kingdom. I leave the western part to both of you;" and then he died.

The people who lived in the western part of France did not like to be ruled over by these young kings, so they wouldn't do anything they were told to do; and Charlemagne and Carloman marched there with some soldiers to make them behave. Soon after this Carloman died; and his wife, thinking Charlemagne did not like her, took her two sons and went to live in Italy. Then the people said, "We will make Charlemagne king over all the country." After a while Charlemagne built a beautiful chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, and, having more work to do than he could himself attend to, he put the building in charge of a monk. He gave the monk money to buy things for the workmen to use, and to pay the men when they were through. But the monk piled the money in some chests, and put it away in a house for himself, instead of using it as Charlemagne told him. One day the house where the chests were caught on fire, and the monk ran to save the money. He caught up one chest, but that was not enough; a second and a third one he took, and, piling them all on his shoulders, was just going out when a beam of the burning house fell upon him and killed him.

It was for this same chapel that Charlemagne wanted a bell. A man came to him, and said, "I can make you the finest bell in the world, King Charlemagne, if you will give me silver enough to make it of." This pleased Charlemagne. He wanted the finest bell in the world, and he had plenty of silver, so he said, "Here is silver. Make me a fine bell, and use all you want." The man went to work on the bell; but he used copper, and made only the outside of silver. When it was finished it looked like silver, and when Charlemagne sounded it no one would have guessed it was not silver. The bell was raised to the belfry, and a man pulled the rope to ring it. But the bell would not ring; another man tried, and still another, and finally a lot of men pulled the rope, but not a sound came from the beautiful bell. What was to be done? "Send for the man who made the bell," suggested some one; so off they went, and brought back the man. He stepped up to the rope, and said, "This bell is all right; I'll make it ring," and with this he pulled very hard, and down came the bell with a great crash right on top of his head, and killed him.

In the year 800 Charlemagne went to Rome to pray in the church of St. Peter's. While he was in church Pope Leo III. put a crown on his head, and the people about all shouted, "Long live Charles the Great, crowned Emperor Augustus of Rome."

[The following questions in connection with the historic memory present themselves as matter for further investigation : —

Are the errors and additions of children's reproductions in the direction of vagueness or definiteness ? That is, are such changes and errors as the following typical : "bell of tin ;" "monk" instead of "man ;" the addition of a sexton to pull the bell, and a servant to call the man ?

Do children remember best what is told them last, or what is told them first, in a story ? or simply what is best connected ?

What further modifications will the last form of the story of Charlemagne receive in some school where it is entirely new ?
M. S. B.]

SPECIAL STUDY ON CHILDREN'S SENSE OF HISTORICAL TIME.

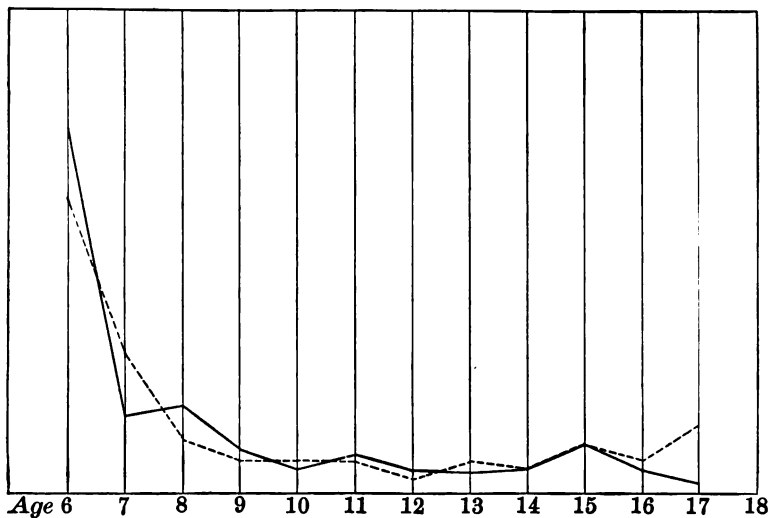
BY ALMA PATTERSON.

ONE of our advanced students, Miss Alma Patterson, has during the past year examined the general subject of the time-sense as a special study in the department of education ; and with her permission I publish here that part of her work which bears particularly on the sense of historical time. In order to test this, the question "What does 1895 mean ?" was sent to teachers of California through the medium of an educational journal. Answers were sent in from the city and country schools in various parts of the State, so that all classes of children were represented. One hundred and twenty children who could not write gave individual oral answers to the teacher who made the test. Miss Patterson reports as follows on the results of these papers : —

Papers were collated from 2,237 children, 974 being boys ranging in age from six to twenty-two, and 1,263 from girls of six to nineteen years. The answers, when classified, fall under five general heads : 1. Don't know. 2. Name or number of the year. 3. Correct historical knowledge. 4. Incorrect historical ideas. 5. Mis-

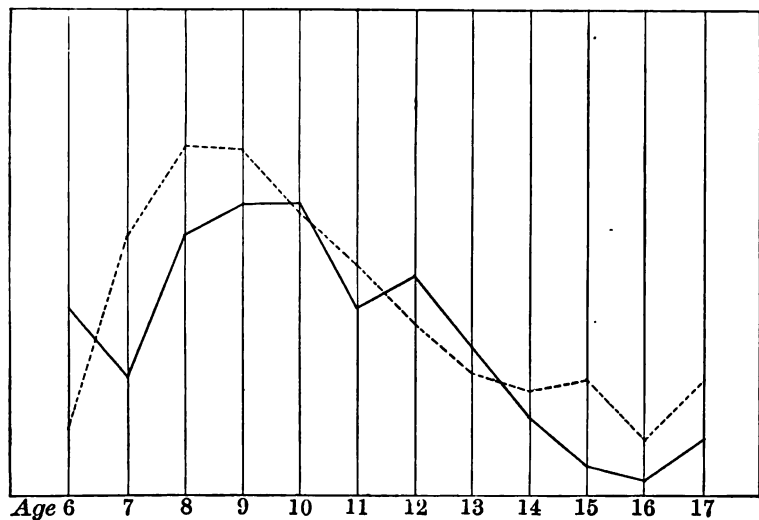
— Boys
- - - Girls

Chart 1. Don't Know

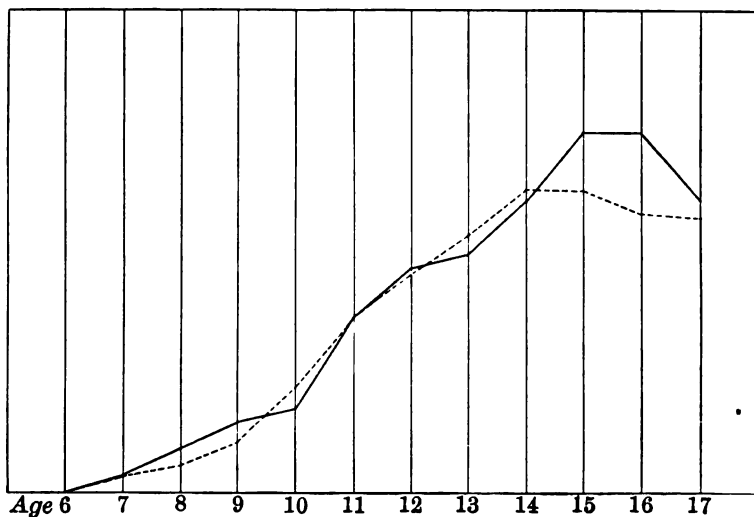


— Boys
- - - Girls

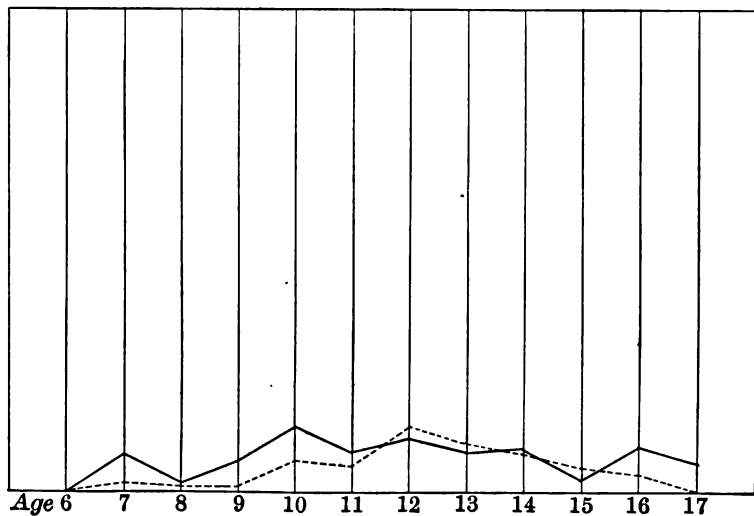
Chart 2. Name or Number of the Year



— Boys
 - - - Girls

Chart 3. *Correct Historical Knowledge*

— Boys
 - - - Girls

Chart 4. *Incorrect Historical Ideas.*

cellaneous. The miscellaneous answers were so few that it seemed unnecessary to chart them.

Under the heading "Don't Know," summarized in Chart 1, are included those papers that frankly state, "I don't know;" those that say, "1895 is a number," or, "The number of our house;" and those that number and leave space for the answer, but omit it. The striking thing that appears in this chart is the increase of knowledge during the first school-years, shown by the rapid fall of the "Don't-know" line between six and eight years. There seems to be no legitimate reason for the rise of the boys' line at eight, unless self-consciousness and timidity influence them, which may have been the case, as answers at that age were many of them taken orally, and by a stranger. Another noticeable fact is the closeness with which the two lines coincide. At fifteen years the papers of both boys and girls contain many omitted answers, owing to lack of confidence in the correctness of their ideas, or perhaps to indifference to so simple an inquiry. The rise of the line at fifteen years is almost wholly due to these omissions, so that in all the charts the lines are scarcely reliable after that age. Chart 2, entitled, "The Name or Number of the Year," is based upon those papers that recognize the time element in 1895, and attempt to identify it by saying: "1895 means the year," "this year," "The New Year," "It is the name of the year," "The number of the year," "The date of the year," "Present time." The state of mind which produces these papers shows no trace of the sense of historical time, except as seen in a vague notion of named time. The chart shows that boys of six years have this idea more clearly than girls of that age. The fall of the boys' line at seven corresponds in part with the rise of the "Don't-know" line; and it is to be noticed that as a rule from that time the girls' line runs above that of the boys', except from eleven and a half to thirteen and a half. Does this indicate that on the whole the girls take hold of the name more readily than boys, and that a name seems an explanation to them? Or does it indicate an agreement with other

studies of this sort, which show the more rapid development of girls at certain ages?

Chart 3, entitled "Correct Historical Knowledge," includes such answers as, "1895 means the number of years since the birth of Christ;" "It means the nineteenth century and 95th year A.D.;" "1895 years ago it was not Christ-time, and now it is;" "It is the age of Christ." At six years none of these answers appear, but from that time up to the age of fourteen for girls, and fifteen for boys, the lines show a uniform rise. The following table shows the exact numbers giving these answers at each age: —

<i>Age</i>	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Boys	3	9	16	20	37	48	52	66	79
Girls	3	6	12	23	37	46	56	66	66

According to the proportions shown on the chart, the boys lead up to nine and a half years; the girls are then ahead until eleven; the lines almost coincide at twelve; the girls are again ahead up to fourteen. The boys' line now soon crosses that of the girls', keeping above it as far as the indications go.

A chart to comfort teachers is No. 4, entitled, "Incorrect Historical Ideas," indicating, as it does, that the historical ideas of children are largely correct. At six years, as we have seen, no historical knowledge, right or wrong, exists. At seven, the interest of the children in George Washington is apparent, 8 boys and 2 girls stating that 1895 means the number of years since George Washington was born, or lived, or died. The rise of the boys' line at ten comes from their interest in the creation of the world, mentioned by 5; and in the discovery of America, mentioned by 4. One says 1895 "is the number of years since the war;" and another, "since George Washington was born." Of the girls of this age, 4 mention the creation of the world; 2, the discovery of America; and 1, the Flood. At twelve years the highest point of incorrect historical ideas is reached for both boys and girls, the girls leading. At this age 5 boys and 7 girls mention the creation of the world; 2

boys and 2 girls, the discovery of America; and 2 girls, George Washington. Of boys at sixteen years, 3 give discovery of America; 3, "The people became civilized;" and 3, "Adam and Eve."

In all, 31 boys and 31 girls mention the creation of the world; 16 boys and 8 girls, the discovery of America; 5 boys and 4 girls, Adam and Eve; 13 boys and 2 girls, George Washington; making a total of 65 incorrect answers for boys, and 45 for girls. It is to be noted, however, that even in these answers the idea always appears that the year is reckoned from some very great event.

In the miscellaneous class, 53 answers are given by boys of all ages, and 36 by girls. These answers fall into two groups, one of indefinite time, as that "1895 means days," "A month of days," "February," "Easter." These indefinite answers are frequent with boys of six, and disappear entirely at thirteen. Among girls these answers, most frequent at seven, have disappeared at nine.

The second group of miscellaneous answers shows an unexpected moralizing tendency: 2 girls of seven, 2 of nine, and 1 of ten, say, "1895 means that we must die;" 4 eight-year-old boys say, "It means that the year is going;" 1 boy of nine gives the same answer. A girl of eleven writes, "1895 means that more years have passed from our life than we think;" and 2 twelve-year-old girls reflect, "One more year of life is gone." A girl of thirteen says, "1895 means that I am getting old;" 3 boys of seventeen and older express a similar thought. This pensive, half-moralizing tendency appears most frequently before the thirteenth year, and more noticeably with boys than girls.

In conclusion, these charts indicate that the sense of historical time is altogether lacking with children of seven, and may be described as slight up to the age of twelve. They also show that dates are understood by few before that age; by boys rather better than by girls, and that they are not demanded by the children. The sense of historical time on the whole seems somewhat stronger with boys than with girls before nine and a half and above fourteen and a half.

PRINCIPLES OF METHOD DEDUCED FROM PART II.

To sum up, — What do these studies on children and primitive peoples indicate as to the development and treatment of the historic sense, granting that this sense was correctly analyzed in the beginning as consisting in the notions of time, of cause and effect, of the social unit, and of a truthful record? The way is long, the goal is but a point; the study is tedious, the conclusion short.

1. As to the order in which these notions appear, we see that among savages they appear all together in the rudimentary form of the myths of origin, which, unplaced in space, vaguely placed in time, attempt to give some true account of the beginnings of man and of the world. Such are the tales of Prometheus, of the Under-World of the Zuni, the Midgard and Yggdrasil stories of the North. As the notions appear together, so they progress, none of them missing, now this one, now that one leading; but within the forms of primitive history we find small indication of a critical sense. History, then, appears early as a consciously separate field of human knowledge.

Among children we find the same fact. From the age of seven onward we find them inquiring after time, cause and effect, the social unit, and the truthful record, — that is, all the elements of history lie within the field of the child's curiosity; and it is interesting to note how early they inquire after origin: Who made us? Where did we come from?

The plain conclusion as to method here is that history is a suitable subject for children from the age of seven at least.

2. As to the sense of time, we see that this sense with savages is based on the power to count, and the power to record that count concretely, either with the fingers, the notched stick, or the knotted cord, and that it develops along with the development of the inventions for keeping count; in other words, that this sense requires much objective assistance. With children we have seen that the

sense seems slight, and that time is badly understood until the age of twelve or thirteen. The conclusion as to method is that the child should be assisted, as the savage was, by some concrete symbol or invention by which he can keep his counts in sight, and reckon time visibly. I think, then, that in teaching history one should always have by him a chart or net of centuries, as one has a map of the world, so that the children may place their heroes in time, as they do in space. In the Stanford experimental school, when such a chart for time was made by each child, one little girl of nine made the following enthusiastic statement to her mother about it:—

“I shall always try to keep my history book, because it has something very precious in it. It has a long line running through two or three pages all marked off in pieces, and each piece is a hundred years, and it tells you just where people are. The first part has Christ and Paul in it, and Rollo is in one part and a lot of other people.”

3. As to the notion of cause and effect, or, to put it differently, the power to infer, we see that both with savages and children it is present from the beginning, but that it is unconscious with primitive peoples, and that with children the power does not become at all critical before the age of twelve or thirteen, and that it seems then to receive a positive impulse, becoming stronger as well as more exact. The conclusion as to method is clear, that children should not be especially trained or urged in inference until the ages of twelve or thirteen, and that then we may reasonably encourage them to draw independent and correct conclusions from given premises.

4. As to the sense of the social unit, we have seen that with primitive peoples this sense concentrates itself about ancestors, heroes, kings, developing into a sense of wider personality as their history, that is, their experience, widens. The interest of children, according to the indications, follows the same order; but, since education partially takes the place of experience, we cannot yet say positively at what age we may develop the larger interest; at

present we may say not before the ages of eleven or twelve. The application to method is that history should first interest itself with the biographies of heroic and striking characters who are connected with the previous knowledge or life of the child; they may be connected with the myths he already knows, like those of the Greek or Norse heroes; they may be connected with the country, as Charlemagne with France, Columbus with America; they should always be connected with that life of action which belongs to children and primitive people alike. These biographies should be of men who fight and hunt and build, rather than of men who write or think or legislate. John Smith is nearer to the child than William Bradford. This biographic life may be drawn from many different sources, and thus lay the foundation for that comparative and critical history which is the next stage of vision. With children, we may allow instruction to take the place of war and trade in widening their narrow world.

5. The sense of a truthful record seems to be quite positive with savages, although it does not occur to them to substantiate that truth by any searching criticism of evidence. Children, too, are very anxious to know whether a record or a story is true or not, although they are largely contented with being told that it is true by a person in whom they have faith, not showing a tendency to inquire critically into the matter until the ages of twelve or thirteen. The efforts of savages, however, to preserve the *original* record or relic by every means in their power, as well as the interest shown by children in an original record or relic, indicates strongly the possibility, if not the desirability, of connecting history from the beginning with original records, scenes, and objects, thus giving the children that material tie with the past which they desire as much as savages, and, in fact, as much as any one who has the least historic sense.

6. As to the forms of history, we have seen that critical history develops last in the history of the race, being preceded by beautiful history, moral history, and mnemonic history, all these forms

running along contemporaneously. With children we see that history finds natural expression in stories, pictures, dramatic plays and poems, with or without a moral. From both these sets of facts I conclude that we should seek our history for children in Plutarch, Homer, and Shakespeare, before seeking it in edited documents with notes and criticisms of the modern school of history. Nor must we forget that primitive history shows a large mnemonic element, appearing in lists and genealogies. This arises from the fact that the memory requires an artificial cog, and these lists and genealogies supply the place of the earlier knotted cord.

Here, again, we are supported in the opinion that the teacher of history to children should not neglect this indication, but should always have at hand some form of chart or list or century calendar which can constantly be used, as a map would be, for reference in matters of time, until it becomes, as maps or words themselves become, a part of our symbolic mental equipment. The wide employment of æsthetic and didactic forms of history indicates that they should form a large element in the early presentation of our subject. On the æsthetic side, Homer, Ossian, the Nibelungenlied, on the didactic side, Plutarch and the Bible, give us plenty of appropriate material. The scientific forms must wait on the development of material, and also on the development of the critical sense; that is, until the ages of twelve and above.

7. As to the content of history, the instant widening of interest and curiosity among primitive peoples when brought into contact with new objects and people, and the instant awakening of interest in children at the sight of a strange relic or picture, indicate that we may widen the field of history as fast as new experience or knowledge can widen it.

8. As to the sex-difference revealed in the directions of curiosity and inference, they are not pronounced enough to warrant a separation of boys and girls; in fact, it is probable that no artificial method of stimulating these powers will equal the natural rivalries of the schoolroom and the sexes.

The points as to succession of methods revealed by this inductive investigation are as follows:—

Introduce the subject of history into the curriculum as early as the age of seven or eight, or soon after children can count and read, making no difference between boys and girls. Up to the age of twelve or thirteen, history should be presented in a series of striking biographies and events, appearing as far as possible in contemporary ballads and chronicles, and illustrated by maps, chronologic charts, and as richly as possible by pictures of contemporary objects, buildings, and people. This series should appear in chronologic order, the biographies themselves forming the basis of the chronology. These biographies should be chosen from the field of action and interest allied to children's lives; that is, they should be chosen from the personal, military, and cultural aspects of history, and scarcely at all from the political or intellectual life. Great pains should be taken with the first presentation, since it plays so important a part in the historic memory. The whole field of general history should be covered in this way, and should be taken from such sources as the Bible, Homer, Plutarch, the Norse Sagas, tales of Indian warfare and pioneer life, voyages of great discoverers. These should be given in their original forms, only modified by such omissions as are demanded by youth and inexperience. These primitive texts should be illustrated as richly as possible by portraits, pictures of relics and monuments, maps, charts, ballads, stories.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen another sort of work should appear. Original sources should still be used, selected with the utmost critical care, so as to furnish pure material; these sources should illustrate, however, not the picture of human society moving before us in a long panorama, but should give us the opportunity to study the organization, thought, feeling, of a time as seen in its concrete embodiments, its documents, monuments, men, and books. Now come the statesmen, thinkers, poets, as successors to the explorers and fighters of the earlier period; and they speak

more seriously in documents and literature: so once more the mind reviews the great field, but applies new powers to new material. Sources, of course, should still be used, but used with reflection; and the children should be encouraged not only to understand and remember them, but to interpret and criticise them. They should learn to read with increasing accuracy and fulness between the lines for the life and thought of the people they study, and for the standpoint of the narrator. They may also be led more and more to answer the questions: How do we know that this is true? What part is true, and what not? and how do you distinguish between these true and untrue parts?

Again, the fact that scientific history is based in the actual course of development upon comparative history as presented by trade and war, shows us that we must prepare the way for scientific history in education by separate special studies; while the study of children shows that we must not begin the work of comparison before the age of twelve or thirteen, and probably not until fifteen or sixteen, since the constantly rising curve of the critical power indicates that it is still in rapid evolution at the latter age.

In college still more advanced work follows, — the collection, comparison, criticism of sources themselves, as well as their most critical interpretation. It is the age of monographic special study. This is the work that feeds the former sorts, giving purer, clearer sources for our service, and more and more sympathetic interpretations. The former sorts of work, in turn, give a background and an atmosphere for the latter; add warmth, color, distance, light and shade. How many a child longs to know something true and old; how many a college student finds his thesis a disconnected fragment, torn he cannot clearly see from where, and related he scarcely knows to what.

PART III.

METHOD AS DETERMINED BY THE AIM OF HISTORICAL STUDY.

As we have seen, method has limitations imposed upon it by the nature of our study, and it has limitations imposed upon it by the laws of the historic sense. These two limitations are fixed; but a third limitation is one which varies from place to place, and from time to time, according to the stage of culture and the ideal sought. It is the limitation of use or aim.

The aims with which we study history to-day may be classified as follows: To add to the sum of human knowledge; to add to the diffusion of human knowledge; to form intelligent and patriotic citizens. In other words, we study history in order to discover new truth, to popularize truth, or to shape character and action; with the last aim the teacher actively deals. Let us take the example of a teacher in London, since he is far enough away to be seen in due perspective, and let us see how these considerations of action and character will determine his answers to a number of questions.

First, What history will he choose? English history, because he wishes to form the character and guide the action of English people; and evolution teaches that we must connect what is with what has been if we are to determine what shall be.

Second, What period will he choose? The immediate past and the present, because out of these the immediate future is to grow.

Third, What aspect of history will he take, — political, military, intellectual, social, industrial? Industrial and social, because the

questions of our age primarily concern themselves with these aspects, and the problems upon us are industrial and social.

These are rude and narrow answers; but I have put them rudely and narrowly in order to call attention to their essence. But let it be understood that the better English people understand their Norman and Saxon and Celtic forbears, the better they will understand themselves; and the more they see of the Frenchman and the German, the Roman and the Greek, the better they will know the virtues, vices, powers, and limitations of the Englishman. The better the English boy understands the methods by which political and religious peace and freedom have been won, the better he can see how to win social peace and freedom. So I would answer again, keeping the gist of the former reply, Let the English boy study the social and industrial history of his own England without fail; let him join to that, without fail, enough other history to make that history intelligible, and to connect it with the great movements and the great peoples of the whole world; added to that, let him study all the history there is time for, but study it all from the point of view of the young Englishman who is about to encounter social and industrial problems at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Strange to say, our teachers of history, even college professors, never seem to sit down thoughtfully for an hour, and ask themselves such fundamental questions as, What is history? Why do I teach it? and, How can I attain my aim? The result of this thoughtlessness is that the student too often leaves school without even the knowledge of the problems of his own day, to say nothing of his ignorance of those parts of history which apply to those problems, or of his ignorance of how those parts of history which he has happened to study do apply. It is as if we had been called on important business from Boston to New York, and went by way of the Canaries.

But to return once more to our London teacher. If he is to guide action and form character, will he present his history from

the sources or from the authorities? Will he try to have his pupils see how things really happened, or will he conceal certain actions and motives as immoral and cowardly, and unbecoming an Englishman? In other words, will he have his pupils learn by investigation or by authority? Here, again, his aim determines his method. His pupils are to be English people, surrounded by men and actions both moral and immoral, heroic and cowardly. They will read the last bill before Parliament, and the discussions upon it, which will contain arguments partly inane and partly to the purpose. He will read the last news from Africa, part of it true and part of it false; he will read the popular books of the day, some of them enervating, some of them manly. From these various scattered sources of his own time he must help to make the history of England in the twentieth century. Good and bad will not be served up on special and separate dishes, but will grow in some great common field, from which he must select for himself what is food and what is poison. So the London teacher of history must bring to his pupils the sources as he finds them, choosing those most apt to the present. He will take his pupil to the Houses of Parliament, the Tower, to Whitehall. He will visit the British Museum to see Magna Charta, the Roman mosaics dug up in Kent, the plunder of India and the Pacific, so as in every possible way to connect the life of the past and the distant with that of the present and the near. He will bring in the conflicting contemporary accounts of Cromwell and his Ironsides, and the various judgments of men as to the marriages of Henry the Eighth, or the life of Mary Queen of Scots; and through the interpretation of such conflicting sources of the past he will train his pupils to interpret the conflicting sources of the present.

The advantages which these sources of the past have over those of the present, are, first, that they eliminate the element of passion, and help to form a judicial habit of mind; second, that we know with greater certainty how to interpret them, because we have, in the succeeding age, the answers to the problems they present.

But how much are these interpretations worth? and what is the nature of the historical judgments in which they are embodied? As we have seen, the worker in the laboratories of history must elaborate a product quite his own, with his own tools, from his own materials, and according to his own needs and powers. He must reach his own conclusions, solve his own problems, make his own book; his history of England will be no other man's. Of course he will agree that Henry the Eighth was King of England in the sixteenth century; but, according to his need or interest, he will study Henry the Eighth as the first head of the English Church, as the king struggling with Parliament, or as the husband of a series of wives; according to his knowledge of the other parts of history, he will form his judgment of Henry the Eighth, — a judgment which will necessarily change with every new perspective, and which has no absolute, but only a relative value as a part of the tissue of his individual knowledge. It follows from this point of view, then, as well as from former points of view, that we should work with sources as much as possible, and that we should learn to criticise them as carefully as possible, since they are the lasting bases on which all historical judgments rest. The judgments, on the other hand, are temporary and changeable, but are not on that account to be despised. They are rather to be recognized as the living product which history leaves in our minds. They are what we see; they are influences working on ourselves and others; vital things destined in their turn to shape and measure progressing history: made, they become, like every other human product, a source of human history. They are partial, but to that extent they may be true, if based on sound and truly criticised sources; and these partial truths become the vital path in which fuller truth may follow. Browning, in *The Ring and the Book*, gives us a noble illustration of the relations of human judgment to fact and truth, and shows us how alone history can be justly wrought to the perfect ring.

To sum up, the consideration of aims then leads the teacher to: —

1. Choose history which develops from local and contemporary needs.

2. Teach that history from the sources.
3. Train his pupils to form their own judgments, and to recognize these judgments as necessarily partial, and only to be improved by wider knowledge of the sources from which they are drawn.

SPECIAL STUDY ON THE MAKING OF PATRIOTS.¹

FIRST of all, what is a patriot? He appears dumb and unconscious in the man who loves his land and folk; that is, the soil that feeds him, the roof that shelters him, the parents, children, comrades, that come and go about him, the church, the marketplace, the long roads out into the world, that have become a part of his every-day life. All this he loves, he clings to, and in time of need will fight and die for, — why not? it is his life, his world. But this love of land and folk is but a sort of vegetable inertia of the spirit, fed from the soil and air, inevitable to the creature who feeds and breathes.

Even so we give the name of patriot. But there is a higher patriotism in the hearts of men to whom life has come to mean, not only food and home and love, but self-government and justice; that is, independence and fair play, a chance to embody their own labor and thought, untrammelled by outside interference. To patriots in this sense, not merely land and folk are dear, but the nation, which embodies land and folk in a conscious, self-governed brotherhood, living securely under free and equal laws, by which it can develop their own peculiar character and work. This is what Fichte calls, in his famous lectures on the German nation, "the consuming flame of the higher patriotism which conceives the nation as the embodiment of the eternal." How can such a flame be lighted? How does the concept of the nation rise? How was it that France, Italy, England, Germany, and Spain came to be inhabited by homogeneous peoples, each people marked with its own physique, temper, and style, and each developing a distinct, valuable, and attractive type?

¹ Much of this chapter is reprinted from *The Citizen*, Boston, January-February, 1887.

How was each people bound together in intimate union by common sympathies and common "points of view," and, above all, by that common devotion to the "fatherland" and the "mother-tongue"? Did it all come about through some resistless natural law, beyond the shaping of human energy? Or were these strong, fine nationalities partly artificial, and so far imitable by so young and bright a folk as we Americans? Such questions are of value as well as interest.

France and Spain were from the first noble natural estates for noble nations. They had mountains for miners and shepherds, valleys and plains for herdsmen and farmers, harbors for merchants and sailors; and all their rich resources were rendered interchangeable within by long and easy waterways, and defended without by barren wastes of sea and mountain. Nature having thus provided place, Rome came and added to the network of rivers a network of roads; gave the uneasy, fighting tribes a common speech and faith, and, above all, a peaceful, fixed abode in which she held them and defended them till generations of intermarriage brought forth the Frenchman and the Spaniard.

Roman dominion faded and fell, barbarians harried and tore away whole provinces for themselves, a thousand barons cut the land into petty fiefs, but still the common race, the common speech and faith, survived; and when the greater mediæval wars arose, and the Moors grew strong in the better part of Spain, and England tried to wrest away the half of France, the names of France and Spain sprang into powers, the people knew and felt the stir of patriotism, and roused in healthy hatred against "outlandish" foreigners. National heroes appeared; the "Cid" became a name of Spanish pride; the faith and loyalty of France rallied about the Maid of Orleans; a thousand songs and stories began to gather about and glorify national deeds and names, and dignified and inspired the popular dialect in every countryside and mingled marketplace, until, from the Alps to Brittany, and from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees, two great nations had each its own common stock of glorious tradition and stirring

song. It was now that the kings began to embody the national name and the national unity. Sprung from some strong stock of the common race, their saintly, brave, or gay and gallant figures became more and more the centres of common interest and devotion. Concentrating the forces of the people, they won their way alike against the foreigner and the feudal lord; and by the end of the fifteenth century France and Spain were fully formed, consolidated nations.

In wind-bound, sea-bound England, nature provided a national retreat even more complete than in France or Spain; there, even earlier than on the Continent, Alfred gathered all hearts in common love for a single English name, while constant war with Kelt or Dane compacted the folk into thorough, conscious distinctness. Song and story wrought their magic here as on the Continent, while a long succession of strong, if not always upright, sovereigns boldly sustained the name of England in all men's sight.

But England, Spain, and France were mediæval growths, and must yield in vivid interest to Germany and Italy, which have nationalized in our own generation and before our very eyes. In the long peninsula of Italy, Alp-defended northward, we find again a natural unit, full of varied industry and resource, and long ago unified in faith and speech by Roman occupation; a land, too, rich beyond all others in great names, great deeds and songs. Material unity existed in the highest degree; but the spiritual unity of a national consciousness was lacking, nor had the people any centre about which to rally. For Italy was full of proud and disunited powers, each sustaining long historic memories of its own; and the larger Italy was overborne by the local interests and glories of Rome and Florence, Venice and Genoa. Thus it came about that she became the common plunder of Europe, and was torn asunder by pope and king and emperor. Napoleon was the first to rouse her to genuine national consciousness, and to show her the vision of a united Italy, free from foreign intermeddling. But with Napoleon's exile, Austria and Spain fell again upon their ancient booty; sword and spur rattled through the peninsula; the hated

foreigner was everywhere, with his treacherous, boorish tyranny. But little Piedmont still nestled at the foot of the Alps, independent under the native rule of Savoy; in Victor Emmanuel and Piedmont, Italy found at last a true national centre, as in Austria she found a true national foe. Then, at last, local hate and jealousy vanished in the larger hate and jealousy of Austria; then, at last, local pride was merged in the larger pride of Young Italy, while all names yielded to the first of great Italian names,— the name of Victor Emmanuel.

The story of Germany is most significant of all. Through causes too long to deal with here, Germany had, in the eighteenth century, become a loose congeries of stubborn, petty states, of all sizes and sorts. In the days of Napoleon, the conqueror had dictated terms to Austria and Prussia, while the remaining German states formed the Confederation of the Rhine under his protectorate. It was just then that the conscious naturalization of Germany began, and that, too, in Prussia. Now, Prussia was in impossible debt to Napoleon. French troops were quartered in her fortresses; her army was reduced to a paltry forty-two thousand; half her land had been torn away and divided as booty. Since the days of Frederick the Great the upper classes had admired and followed all that was French in fashion and thought, and had not merely ignored, but had been ashamed of, all that was distinctively Prussian; to the lower classes the name of Napoleon stood for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." These were the circumstances under which men, whom events proved neither fanatics nor fools, dreamed of resisting Bonaparte, and, stranger yet, dreamed of a united Germany. That the dream should come true is hardly more wonderful than that it should be dreamed at all. But the dreamers were active, resolved, and silent in the time for silence; among them Stein was first and greatest. His first measures were in memory of the fact that a land must be lovable to be beloved. Prussia, like France before the Revolution, was under the "Old Régime" of an absolute king and a feudal aristocracy; there was no free trade in land; the

peasants were serfs; no man could leave the trade or the station of his father. By a few strokes of the pen, Stein accomplished a revolution; the serfs were freed, land was thrown into an open market, men were free to choose their own work without limit of rank or heritage. Thus, at one stroke, every available economic resource was opened to the poverty-stricken state, and the reasonable desires of men for a French Revolution were a long way met by the government itself. Scharnhorst made similar reforms in the army, abolished degrading punishments, and opened every honor to merit, and merit alone. Meanwhile, one of the Humboldts undertook to organize a system of public and universal education, by which all the members of the state might become its intelligent citizens; "Father Jahn" founded the Turnverein or gymnastic unions, which rapidly became ardent centres of patriotic enthusiasm; Fichte lectured in Berlin on German history and philosophy with set purpose of rousing a distinctive pride in German thought and action. Such the men and such the powers that began to form a modern Prussia as the worst foe of the Napoleons; and again, as at ancient Marathon, justice, skill, intelligence, spirit, overcame the tyrannous material might of arms. The "War of Liberation" proved the strength of the new-born state. From that day on, a united Germany passed out of the realm of dream, and became the talk of the streets, the teaching of universities, the agitation of courts; secret societies gathered their forces about the names of Teutonia and Germania; the great generation of poets, scholars, and thinkers that closed the eighteenth century gave to all who spoke and read the German tongue a common stock of thought and feeling; now, moreover, men needed no longer to look to France or England for the splendor of human achievement; the names of Goethe, Schiller, Humboldt, and Kant—the heroes and honors of the epic War of Liberation—were already immortally and gloriously German.

It was not for that generation to see the completion of the forming state; but men's minds were riddled with ideas of a united

fatherland, their hearts were full of feeling and longing; and when Bismarck's policy ended at Sadowa the long strife of Austria and Prussia, the time was fully ripe. Then came the call to war against a new Napoleon. Germany coalesced against France, in the supreme hour of victory elected Prussia as her leader, and the German Empire stood revealed to all the world, a fully equipped, patriotic, conscious nation.

We are ready now to return to our prime inquiry, What can America learn of the making of nations from the peoples over the sea? In reviewing the making of France, England, and Spain, of Italy and Germany, certain common facts or laws appear:—

1. Each of these national units has been based upon a more or less well-defined geographical unit; and the more isolated and complete this unit, the more rapidly has the nation formed itself. Thus England consolidates first, while the wavering boundaries of Germany eastward, and the long-disputed borders of the Rhine, show how hard it is to nationalize an indefinite frontier.

2. Before their nationalization, the people in each of these units have acquired or possessed a common faith, speech, and blood.

3. In each case national consciousness has been aroused by a struggle against some foreign foe attacking common possessions or interests. Thus Spain hardens against the Moor; thus France defines herself against England, Italy against Austria, Germany against France.

4. This national pride and consciousness centres about some name, place, or office, embodying itself in tangible, speakable form; this form again, reacting on the nation, consolidates and inspires its heavier masses into organic unity and life. Thus Frederick the Great stands for Prussia, Victor Emmanuel for Italy, the Republic for France.

5. This consciousness has been strengthened and developed into national pride by the possession of common songs and traditions; by memories of heroic deeds and dangers shared together; and by the possession of a common stock of glory arising from national heroes, poets, statesmen, and scholars.

But the most precious possession of all is national independence and free self-government. The Russian peasant burning Moscow in the face of Napoleon is a splendid example of human nature in heroic but unconscious struggle for individual existence; more splendid yet is the Italian at Novara, fighting, not for hearth and home, but for a free, self-governed state. How essentially this element of freedom enters the mind of the conscious patriot, appears in the famous message of Athens to Xerxes: —

“There is not so much gold anywhere in the world, nor a country so preëminent in beauty and fertility, as to persuade us to side with Persia in enslaving Greece. For there are many and powerful considerations that forbid us to do so, even if we were inclined. First and chief, we must avenge to the uttermost the images and dwellings of the gods now burned and laid in ruins. Secondly, the Grecian race being of the same blood, and the same language, and having the temples and the sacrifices of the gods in common — for the Athenians to betray these would not be well. Know, therefore, that so long as one Athenian is left alive, we will never make terms with Xerxes.”¹

On the other hand, Rome, — that Rome which in her heroic days did not despair of the republic, though Hannibal was at her gates, but poured life and treasure forth like water in tempestuous and effective flood, that Rome once turned imperial could find no patriot, but only hirelings, to defend her against Goth and Hun and Vandal; a case which shows that even a foreign foe cannot arouse a patriot if he have no free state in which to move, no free land to call his own.

Nowhere is patriotism better expressed than in its greatest song, *La Marseillaise*.

“Awake, ye sons of France, to glory!
 Now dawns the day of liberty!
 Against us flaunt the banners gory
 Of Europe's hateful tyranny.

 O France, with sacred passion fire us,
 Ennerve our vengeful arms with might!
 O liberty divine, inspire us,
 And with thy sworn defenders fight,
 And with thy sworn defenders fight!”

¹ *Herodotus*, viii., ch. 144, Bohn's edition.

There you have it all, — the brotherhood of race and speech and land, the passion for the free and independent state, the hatred of the foreigner.

Turning to our own land, we find her already following these same laws: —

1. She possesses one of the grandest geographic units on earth, — grand by its imposing size and ocean-bound frontiers, and grand again by its wealth of easily interchangeable resource.

2. Within these boundaries the dominant race is Anglo-Saxon, the dominant speech English, and the dominant faith Christian; and immigration after immigration has but added to this dominant race excellences derived from long-tested European types, thus producing already a distinct Americo-Saxon.

3. After a hundred and fifty years of loose colonial growth, our people were roused to national consciousness by a War of Independence which defined at once and forever America and the Americans from Europe and the Europeans. This consciousness and separation have been confirmed by two foreign wars, and by a constant play of international repartee and criticism, perhaps not always as weighty, but quite as sharp, as the sword of Bunker Hill.

4. More and more does the nation tend to centre itself about its presidents as personal centres of Americanism. Washington, Lincoln, Garfield, — these are already *American* names with which to conjure up loyalty and pride and devotion to our country's flag; and we have but to note the attention which the papers paid to the sickness and death of Grant, and more lately to the most intimate domestic affairs of Cleveland, to realize that strong human interests are drawing about our chief executives, thus concentrating our diffused patriotism on living, practical entities.

5. Our stock of heroic national story is already large: first of all, the heroes and the deeds of the Revolution; while from our founders and pioneers, pushing their way westward against famine and flood, and a turmoil of Indian war and strange adventure, comes

a host of exciting and inspiring tales. Nor should our great engineering conquests be forgotten; the steamboat, the Morse telegraph, the Atlantic cables, and the transcontinental railways are genuine American achievements; and are among the greatest and proudest possessions of the modern world. Nor do we lack our common fund of song and thought and story. Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Irving, Emerson, Hawthorne, are not merely national in the sense of being American-born, but in that they have poetized and illustrated American themes and American points of view,—have struck a distinctively American note in the great literary chorus of our age.

But most significant of all, we have never passed through the state of unconscious patriotism; from the first our patriotism was rather distinctly for principles of government, for freedom and independence. Of poets, statesmen, heroes, we are proud, and justly; but prouder yet of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the laws. No blind and dumb force, we face the world open-eyed, and, speaking clearly, say to each and all: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

In spite of the fact, however, that America thus hitherto seems to have followed the general laws of nationalization, much still remains for the conscious effort of every citizen; holding in mind these general laws, he can favor more or less actively all means that tend toward the following results:—

1. A firmer geographic union. Could our South and North be

so thoroughly matted together with railroads as our East and West, we should soon see sectional peculiarities vanish, and populations mingled in interests, ideas, and manners. Railroads can do more than schools to Americanize our "poor white trash," and mutually unite estranged sympathies. The telegraph and newspaper, too, cement this union, which, in the final analysis, is one of knowledge, interest, and ideas, by keeping our whole people in daily touch with the same events from coast to coast.

2. A distinct American type — an Aryan blood, an English speech, a Christian faith — should be the endless heritage of our people. In this blood, speech, and faith lie the deep springs of our civilization, and of our own individual life. Here are reasons for the discouragement of mixtures of Oriental and African with American, for the teaching of our mother-tongue in every school, and for the adjustment of our laws by the standard of Christian as against that of Mormon, pagan, or atheistic morality.

3. We must have the most intimate and universal acquaintance with our own history, biography, and literature; and, finally, must endeavor that American character and ideas be ably displayed in the persons of our successive presidents.

The common school can do much to secure these ends. In the first place, it gives a common training to all the children of the State; in the next place, it is intrusted with the treasure-house of the American speech. And in that treasure-house are held the poems and the stories of Longfellow and Lowell, of Cooper and Irving — American possessions, smacking of the soil; and in that treasure-house are stored the records of heroes from Washington to Grant and Lee, the records of the great achievements of our common people in our Revolution, in our Civil War, in our pioneer march from the Alleghanies to the Golden Gate; there, best of all, are stored our constitutions and our laws. In this literature, in these records, we find the historic body and spirit of America; here we find the food on which to nourish Americans.

The examples of Victor Emmanuel and Stein show what con-

scious action can do against most fearful odds; and there is no doubt but that in our own country the conscious action of our more intelligent citizens can save any part of our nationality from being swamped in the European or the Oriental current. Precious and sacred as the heritage of our national character is, it is by no means safe. The influence of the European mode of thought, style of life, and relation of classes, upon our educated and travelled people is enormous and increasing; thence threatens the love of luxury, the shame of labor, the feeling and style of the aristocrat. On the other hand, a force of ignorant, restless anarchy sweeps through our lower classes with a tide swelled fast by daily immigration. Meanwhile, in sections of our cities, and even in sections of our country, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, China, seem to have settled bodily, with the weight of resistless generations behind them. Yet Heaven avert the omen that our America should become a cosmopolitan museum of races and opinions and manners, jostling one another in unrelated proximity! An ideal is that of the strong organic nation, compacted of interdependent states, bound together by a network of material interests and spiritual sympathies. In preserving the "sacred palladium of liberty," we have perhaps forgotten the primal duty of self-preservation. Freedom and happiness are not the only ideals for a people to set before itself. It should quite as jealously guard its independence, its character, its individuality among nations; for therein lies its power and worth in that great congress of Aryan peoples, to which the Englishman brings sense and grit and dominion; the Frenchman, a clear vision and an undying enthusiasm; the German, an endless learning, and that steady capacity for labor that knows "nor haste, nor rest," and to which we have brought invention, enterprise, and wit, and to which, if the gods of our destiny permit, we owe a still higher gift,—the gift of the ideal citizen. But we cannot teach children to be good patriots or citizens by telling them over and over to be such; but we must show them a country great and fair, with a thousand picturesque associations

with the past, sacred to liberty and happiness, the home of heroes; love for such a country will take care of itself. Such a love is not to be aroused in young minds by the bare study of abstractions such as constitutional history demands; the Indian, the soldier, the fur-trapper, the sailor, are the guides who must take him in hand at first, and attach his interest and his love to the mountains, plains, and lakes of his native land. Here lies the great use of the study of wars, which shows us a people under the stress and strain of great and painful circumstance, acting together, enduring and daring for a common good. Wars thus become watchwords of heroism, banners of memory, bonds of blood-kinship to a people. In the study of the heroic deeds of peace and war we lay a concrete basis for patriotism, without saying a word about it. We love what is great and fair in spite of ourselves. Do not tell us, then, to love, but show us what is great and fair.

SPECIAL STUDY ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

"Truth is the daughter of time." — MIRABEAU to *Bishop of Chartres*.

It is popularly supposed that the philosophy of history, be-decked in eighteenth-century dignity of robe and wig, has left the stage altogether, never to return; and that in his place has come a very painstaking young fellow, whose chief business in life is to dig, and who quite despises those who stop to look around them. I am well aware that respectable historical students are apt to shrug their shoulders and smile when a callow freshman comes to urge, "But what I want is a course in the philosophy of history;" and I am as well aware that this callow freshman will not easily find his wished-for course, and that he must bear his growing-pains as best he may. Yet having a certain respect for youth, I am going to ask this callow freshman to look over the philosophies of history which have been presented in the past, note their number and variety, examine their content, and see whether, in the face of the varying medley, he can see any fixed features which speak of life and truth.

Perhaps the earliest tangible philosophy of history which we can find is that of the Jews, thus expressed by Josephus :—

“Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history may principally learn from it, that all events succeeded well . . . and the reward of felicity is proposed by God ; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws. . . . God is the father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and . . . hence bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries.”¹

This is the philosophy which pervades all the historical writings of the Jews, and finds its poetic expression in such passages as, “I have not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.”

A clear expression of the philosophy of history among the Greeks is to be found in the *Politics* of Aristotle, who strikes the key-note of his theme in the first sentence of his first book :—

“Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims, and in a higher degree than any other, at the highest good.”²

He then examines the various forms and the various theories of the state, historically and logically, in order to discover the best form and the best ideal, and thus concludes in chapter eighteen of his third book :—

“We maintain that the best [government] must be that which is administered by the best, and in which there is one man, or a whole family, or many persons, excelling in virtue, and both rulers and subjects are fitted, the one to rule, the others to be ruled, in such a manner as to attain the most eligible life.”³

Here the philosophy of history sees how a people develop their own state through appropriate instruments of government until

¹ Whiston's *Josephus*, London, 1858, i. 42, 43.

³ Jowett's Edition, i. 105.

² Jowett's Edition, Oxford, 1885, i. 1.

they reach an harmonious balance, which enables each individual, through his connection with the whole, to live his own best life.

Among the Roman historians, we find in Polybius the clearest expression of a philosophy of history. This first of men to conceive of a general history in its modern sense says, in his introduction:—

“Can any one be so indifferent or idle as not to care to know by what means, and under what kind of polity, almost the whole inhabited world was conquered and brought under the dominion of the single city of Rome? . . .

“My History begins in the 140th Olympiad. . . . Now, up to this time the world’s history had been, so to speak, a series of disconnected transactions. . . . But from this time forth History becomes a connected whole: the affairs of Italy and Libya are involved with those of Asia and Greece, and the tendency of all is to unity. . . . Just as Fortune made almost all the affairs of the world incline in one direction, and forced them to converge upon one and the same point; so it is my task as an historian to put before my readers a compendious view of the part played by Fortune in bringing about the general catastrophe.”¹

To the mind of Polybius, the affairs of the world are forced by Fortune, the divine necessity of antiquity, into the single path marked out by Rome.

The Christian philosophy of history starts out from the old faith of Josephus: “All things work together for good to them that love God,” modified by an afterthought of fate, expressed in the addition, “who are the called according to his purpose.” But the persecutions and woes of the early church drive its thinkers on to the pessimistic view expressed by St. Augustine in his *City of God*: “All things work together for good to them that love God,” indeed, but this good may not be found in Rome, the city of the world, the centre of antique life, but in the city of God, the New Jerusalem. This world is but a trial-place for a more enduring, real world beyond. Looking at this world alone, we can see neither order nor meaning, because they do not exist. The explanation of its chaos is only to be found by him who looks at eternity as well as time; nor must the view be confined to a single people. All

¹ *Polybius*, Bk. I., chap. i.-iv., Shuckburgh’s Trans., London, 1889.

humanity is involved either as called or not called to the enduring, happy city of those who love God.

This philosophy, which ignores the present world, dominated the Middle Age, and dominates much of Christendom to-day. But in the fourteenth century another form of Christian philosophy of history arose among the Franciscans and mystics : —

“According to these men and their adherents, universal history ought to be divided into three great periods or ages : the age of the Old Testament, or kingdom of the Father ; the age of the New Testament, or age of the Son ; and the age of the eternal Gospel, or kingdom of the Spirit. In the first, God manifested Himself by works of almighty power, and ruled by law and fear ; in the second, Christ has revealed Himself through mysteries and ordinances to faith ; and in the third, for which the others have been merely preparatory, the mind will see truth face to face without any veil of symbols, the heart will be filled with a love which excludes all selfishness and dread, and the will, freed from sin, will need no law over it, but be a law unto itself.”¹

With the Renaissance and Reformation, new forms of the philosophy of history were to be expected ; and we find them in Machiavelli, and later in Montesquieu, Vico, and Condorcet. These men seek their philosophy by approaching the problem on its historic side, while Herder and Kant seek theirs by approaching the problem analytically and *a priori*.

Men like Montesquieu ask after the influences entering into human history, and seek, by looking at the facts, to discover some law. Even by an imperfect use of the inductive method they seem to perceive that human affairs are determined by inherent causes, that spring partly from man and partly from external nature. In this course of thought, Montesquieu enunciated what Flint calls “the epoch-making principle,” that history is shaped not by single units or men, but by a general course of affairs, a trend of ideas the causes of which may be analyzed and understood by the human reason. Hardly any one has expressed this thought

¹ Robert Flint, *Historical Philosophy in France and French Belgium and Switzerland*, New York, 1894, p. 103.

more clearly than Condorcet. "The sole foundation of belief," he says, "in the natural sciences, is the idea that the general laws, . . . which regulate the phenomena of the universe, are necessary and constant; and for what reason should this hold less true of the intellectual and moral faculties of man than of the other operations of nature? . . . Why should it be deemed chimerical to attempt to picture the probable destiny of the human race in accordance with the results of its history?"¹

Turning to the German line of thinkers, we find the attempt to define the problems of history. Herder asks, What are the factors of history? and answers that its factors are the desires of man and the limits of external nature. These two playing on each other produce history, — the development of humanity. Kant, and still more definitely Hegel, follow, asking, How can the individual free will be reconciled with the limitations of law in nature, one of these limitations being the desires of other men? They answer, Through the state; the organ by which man may, as far as possible, reconcile the jar of clashing human desires with each other and the external world.²

All of these views summarize in Comte, who is regarded as the father of scientific sociology, and who in his scheme saw the whole human race advancing at varying rates of speed through three stages of life and thought. In the first, they supernaturalize the universe, — this is the religious stage; in the second, they build great systems of metaphysics, by which they explain, through general abstractions, what they see about them, — this is the metaphysical stage, which is passing into the scientific stage in our nineteenth century through the attempt to discover the natural and necessary laws by which all phenomena are governed, and by means of which we can modify the world to our own ends.

With the development of the Darwinian theory, we find our-

¹ Flint, 330, quoting pp. 327, 328, of Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*, 1793.

² Bernheim, Ernst, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 527, etc.

selves in the midst of new forms of the philosophy of history. In Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, in Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, in Kidd's *Social Evolution*, in Ward's *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, we find philosophies of history which seek to explain human history by the play of natural selection acting upon struggling societies, and which regard every factor in history from this point of view, — as to how it fits a society to survive or perish in the particular circumstances in which it finds itself. Almost contemporaneous with this bionomic philosophy of history we find a socialistic philosophy, clearly enunciated by St. Simon, who saw in history the story of the successive amelioration of the proletariat.¹ This philosophy is developed by Marx in his *Das Kapital*, and clearly by Paul Wiesengrün in his *Entwicklungsgesetze des Menschheit*. According to this school of thinkers, the conditions of production have driven men on through a necessary series of historical epochs, so fixed in their course that Marx declares: "The country that is more developed industrially, only shows to the less developed the image of its own future. . . . And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement . . . it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs."² These birth-pangs over, the new society will find itself able to determine its own progress by the conscious employment of the natural laws discovered by all the sciences, historical sciences among the rest.

These modern philosophies of history, whether bionomic or socialistic, find a comprehensive expression in the following passage from Lotze:—

"Science has introduced into even the most familiar departments of human thought the idea of universal laws to which reality is obedient in all particu-

¹ Bernheim, p. 539.

² Karl Marx, *Capital*, edited by Frederick Engels, New York, 1889, pp. xviii., xix.

lars, and a lively conviction that results can only be obtained by using things according to these laws. . . . It gave rise to that progressive spirit of conscious calculation that is not content to continue passively in any instinctive condition of being or doing, but must actively mould the future by independent use of all available means."¹

Lotze also believes that this human progressive spirit is acting and working in parallelism with the immanent and eternally moving spirit of the universe.

This cursory view of the philosophies which have dominated our views of history reveals a number of general laws:—

Each philosophy of history has grown out of the peculiar point of view and circumstances of the people enunciating it. Thus, Josephus interprets history as the theocratic Jew; Aristotle, as a Greek who has seen the bloom of Athens; Polybius, as a Greek who has seen the bloom of Athens fade before the fateful power of Rome; St. Augustine, living in the age of the decadence of Rome, and the weakness of the church, interprets events in the light of another and more enduring world; the mystics of the thirteenth century, who saw Europe emerging into a quickening life, happier and freer than any the world had seen before, seize upon a new view of history, and see in the kingdom of the Holy Spirit a promise for the earth itself of a New Jerusalem. After men broke with authority in the age of the Reformation, and learned to use their own eyes and their own minds on very things, they applied the method to history as well, and began to perceive in it some natural laws. This scientific point of view, as we call it, has dominated the leading thinkers in this field until our own day; and yet these modern men have seen these laws differently, according to their own points of view. Thus, the sceptics of the eighteenth century looked to natural laws alone, and were inclined to ignore the interference of incalculable human choice; the biologists seize upon the struggle for existence as the only key to the situation; the socialists see in history only the play of the laws of production, leading

¹ *Microcosmos*, Book VII., ch. v.

to the inevitable goal of the dominion of the proletariat. One of the most clear and interesting instances of variation due to point of view is to be seen in German history. At the close of the last century, Kant and Goethe saw with some clearness, as they thought, that universal history tended toward a cosmopolitan mass of civilization, and that Germany's history had especially fitted her to lead toward this mass, since she had not been shaped like France and England into a particularistic nation. But since the events of the nineteenth century have made Germany also into a great nation, Von Sybel and her other historians see that nationality, not cosmopolitanism, was the hidden aim of the ages, and that modern civilization is not to be a cosmopolitan mass, but rather a symposium of highly developed nations, each bringing its own gifts of nature and art.¹

A second law which presents itself is, that *there is an advancing content contained in the philosophy of history*. This advancing content develops from the particular states seen by Josephus and Aristotle, through the Roman empire seen by Polybius, the whole of Christendom seen by St. Augustine, and the civilized world seen by Montesquieu, to the whole of mankind in the views of Spencer, Marx, and Lotze. This content not only broadens as to its personal element, but also in the directions of environment and action; so that it includes now not only the religious and military life seen in Josephus, but the whole circle of human thought and action, — political, intellectual, spiritual, — and the whole mass of human environment, — physical and social, — without dropping from view anything ever seen before.

But while there is this advancing content of history, there is also a fixed content of basic ideas. One of these ideas is *unity*. To Josephus, all that he knows of the world relates itself to the Jews. The unity of Aristotle is the philosophic state; that of Polybius,

¹ *The Nation*, New York, Dec. 3, 1891, in review of Jastrow's *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitstraumes und seiner Erfüllung*, Berlin, 1891, in which book the national view of the philosophy of history is strongly developed.

Rome, which will draw the world to itself by irresistible fate. To St. Augustine, all relates itself to the church; to us, humanity is the unit.

A second idea which appears in all these varying forms is that of *some directive force*. To Josephus this directive force was Jehovah; to Aristotle, the philosopher; to Polybius, fate; to St. Augustine, God, but a greater, more inscrutable, more slowly moving deity than that of Josephus; to the mystics, the Holy Spirit, moving to its ends through the agencies of inspired men scattered everywhere. To the moderns, this directive force has appeared, first, as unconscious external law of nature, as with Buckle; second, as human society becoming self-conscious and self-directive through the control of the laws of which it has become conscious, as in Ward; and, third, as an immanent spirit.

A third idea which underlies our various philosophies is that of *progress toward ends of goodness and happiness by means of conscious human action*. According to Josephus, this progress follows obedience to Jehovah; according to Aristotle, by living in harmony with the teachings of philosophy; according to Polybius, through obedience to the laws of Rome; St. Augustine seeks it for the individual through loyalty to the church; the mystics, through the guide of inspiration; while the moderns believe it can be obtained through the conscious control of sociologic and natural law by the will and intelligence of man, or, as others put it, by living in harmony with the immanent Spirit of the universe, in whom we move and live and have our being.

If this is the character of the philosophy of history, what shall we say of it? Is it something to be reckoned with in the field of thought, or is it not? Since we perceive in it fundamental ideas which are constant, it would seem to have a fixed body; since its content has advanced with time, and was never so great nor so unified as now, it would seem to have life. But what of that variability which we have seen, that tendency to adapt itself to various circumstances and points of view? This variability, far

from condemning the philosophy of history, should recommend it; since it shows again that this philosophy is alive, and organically connected with advancing life.

On all these counts, then, it would appear that there is a philosophy of history; that it is the most important thing in history, the most permanent and most interesting, and that the time is always present for formulating it anew. For this philosophy of history, owing to its plasticity and progress, is no absolute thing to be discovered once for all, but has varied in the past to suit the needs of every individual, age, and country; and so will it vary in the future. This variability is what has given it a bad name. Because it was plastic, people have suspected that it did not exist; but one might as well say that life does not exist because it ranges through endless variations of form and age and power. Precisely in this plasticity, this quality of clinging to and suiting the advancing thought and knowledge and circumstance of man, lies the life of the philosophy of history, as there lies the life of any philosophy at all. Facts to us are dead until they relate themselves to us and to our world. This relation of facts to life and the world is what every soul and every generation demands as light upon its pathway. This relation varies because of our advancing points of view: it grows with knowledge; and if at present we are agnostic and pessimistic, it is simply because masses of facts have poured in upon us for half a century with such rapidity and force that we have had no time to relate them, hardly time to see them. But are we, then, to say that that universe which we have seen proceeding by the most exact and rigid law from the simple to the complex is, in the field of human history, abandoned to caprice and lawlessness? If not, we may reasonably look for a philosophy; nor should we be impatient if the most complex of sciences has to wait on simpler sciences for its advancing development.

As we look again at this succession of philosophies, we are struck with the fact that in each of our instances we get the expression of

a philosophy which has dominated history itself in the contemporary period. The most striking instance is perhaps to be found in the philosophy of St. Augustine, who regarding this earth but as a place of broken fragments, a battleground whose results can only be seen in the hereafter, naturally felt that it was foolish to pay much attention to mundane events; so history fell into desuetude, and historical action itself was more or less paralyzed by a view which placed all interest outside of the world itself. In contrast to this, we note the flood of living interest that has poured into history since it has been believed that we could discover its laws; an interest still further heightened in the case of those who believe not only that we may come to know the laws of social life, but that we may control them for the good of society, just as we have learned consciously to bend the laws of electricity to our own desires. Many of us, again, add to this the belief that by so shaping natural law we are co-workers with a spirit immanent through all the living universe. However we believe, if we hold any modern view save that of the pessimist, the hope of paradise springs up again in our human hearts, and we find ourselves building anew on the old foundations a philosophy of history, but building higher and more gloriously than ever before; our unit, the world of living men through all time; our directive force welded from natural law, conscious human action, and possibly a conscious divine influence; our aim, the progressive strength and excellence of human life. Such is our latest achievement in the philosophy of history; but we know well that it will not be our last, unless, indeed, it should prove exactly in conformity with reality; for "Truth is the daughter of Time."

PART IV.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES OF METHOD TO HISTORY IN THE HIGH SCHOOL.¹

THE teacher of history in the high school has ever before his eyes the two horns of his dilemma: on the one hand, history in the high school must still partake of the nature of general information; on the other, the method of presenting it should be concrete enough to develop a certain amount of historic sense. The everyday world demands that he shall give his student some clear notion of what Greek, Roman, Jew, Kelt, and Teuton each have done to change the howling wilderness of prehistoric Europe into the civilized centre of the world; demands, beyond that, a good clear view of the history and meaning of our own America. Then comes the Republic, with her demand for a thoughtful citizen who can read the history of to-day, and shape the policy of the morrow, from the rough-hewn logic of fact, the endless prattle of the press, the stirring words of living men, the creaking, heavy machinery of government. Neither demand can he gainsay; how can he meet both? One demands generalities which are the commonplaces of every scholar; the other, fresh and independent study of historic detail from historic sources.

It would seem at first as if there were no compromise; as if the generalities must be learned by heart, and the detail on which they rest taken for granted, or as if the method of research must lead endlessly on, until the student is assured of his ignorance of the

¹ Reprinted from the *Academy*, Syracuse, N.Y. June, 1889.

campaigns of Charlemagne and the landfall of Columbus. The former method leaves him dogmatic and conceited; the latter, sceptical and discouraged. The former leaves him with no proper conception of the living reality of the historic world, of the labor which its discoveries involve, or the foundation on which they rest; the latter leaves him too often without one single commanding view of that divine unit of historic progress which draws to itself ever-widening areas of land and folk.

Hard as the problem is, I have come to think that there is a solution for it; that the solution lies perhaps here, — *in teaching the general truth through the special fact, and in making each individual pupil judge the special fact for himself in its general aspects.*

I will illustrate my meaning by two or three examples. Suppose the topic in hand to be the Spanish discoveries in America: first of all, what are the general facts we wish to impart in regard to these events? We will say, — the lands and seas opened by Spanish exploration, the time over which it extended, the motives and characters of the explorers, their relations to the natives. Now, there are two ways in which one can teach these points; one is, to have the pupil read or recite, either verbatim, or, preferably, in his own language, the contents of some such paragraph as this: —

“The Spanish discoveries began with Columbus, and during the next one hundred and fifty years had covered the length of the American coast from Newfoundland to Patagonia on the east, and from Chili to Upper California on the west. The discoverers were either Italian or Portuguese sailors, trained from boyhood to the boldest navigation of their time, — or Spanish cavaliers, trained in court and camp, men of dauntless courage, of boundless energy and determined will, but cruel and perfidious in their relations with the natives; ever drawn on from region to region by the love of gold, and the wish to gain new realms for the king and the church. Their settlements were precarious and their lives adventurous.”

This is the one way, — to give the generalities just as they stand, the accepted commonplaces of history, and wait for time and chance to make their meaning clear. The other way is to give into the hands of the student a collection of concrete materials in which he

himself may read these general facts. A desirable collection would be as follows: *First*, the pictures of a cavalier and a friar. These are simply to give objective reality to the men with whom he is to deal, and may be dismissed with this remark. *Second*, a bare chronological list of discoveries, each item reading something as follows: 1492, Columbus, a Genoese captain, sailing in service of the King of Spain, to find a western way to India, discovers some of the West Indian Islands. From such a list the student can see for himself of what occupation and rank the discoverers were, in whose behalf the discoveries were made, what area they covered, and the time they took. *Third*, extracts from the letters and narratives of the time. Let him read from the narrative of *The Gentleman of Elvas*, one of the companions of De Soto, how on reaching Florida, De Soto at once began to ask the Indians "if they knew . . . any rich country where there was gold or silver;" how they told him that "towards the west there was a province—called Cale—where the most part of the year was summer, and that there was much gold . . . that . . . these inhabitants of Cale did wear hats of gold;" how then De Soto, with all his men, "took the way to Cale," but when he came thither, "found the town without people, and his own men were sore vexed with hunger and evil ways, because the country was very barren of maize, low, and full of water, bogs, and thick woods; and the victuals they had brought with them . . . were spent." Again, let him read this from *Las Casas*:—

"The main care was to send the men to work in the gold mines and to send the women to till the ground; the men perished in the gold mines with hunger and labor, the women perished in the fields; and as for the blows which they gave them with whips, cudgels, and their fists—I can hardly be able to make a narration of those things."

From such extracts as these one makes the nearest possible approach to speech with the time itself, comes to understand how the actors themselves thought and felt and did; in other words, one

gains historic sympathy, that prime requisite to historic understanding.

This, then, is the first step, — to give the student a little collection of historic data, and extracts from contemporary sources, together with a few questions *within his power to answer from these materials*. Then let him go by himself, like Agassiz's famous student with the fish, to see what he can see. The work of the class-room is to collect, criticise, and summarize the individual results into those same general statements which, after all, must finally remain in the mind, but which must depend for their living reality on the special fact.

For instance, again, if I wanted to teach the great differences between the military system of mediæval Europe and modern times, I would give my pupil two photographs, — one of a thirteenth century castle, islanded by a moat, beset by high, blind walls, watching the world cautiously from narrow loopholes or from lofty towers; and one of a modern English country-house, inviting approach through sunny vistas and flower-set lawns, while its walls smile welcome from many a generous window and door, — and I would ask, "How does it happen that the thirteenth century man built such a house as this, while we build houses like these?" And, after some reflection, the pupil would see that the castle must have been built by a man who feared enemies from whom he must defend himself in his own house, while the country-house was built by a man who lived in peace, and was taken care of. That is the point; and the photographs teach it better than words, and are longer remembered.

One illustration more, of still a different kind. Supposing it is the character of a civilization that you wish to impress, — what are your realities here? The lives, the deeds, the works, of men. Let us take, for example, the century after the so-called fall of Rome; how can you manage to impress the character of this obscure, difficult, but important period upon the minds of your pupils? Here, again, the list can be used to advantage. The bare alphabetic list

of the famous names of those obscure centuries, with a brief note of birth and circumstance, work done, and language used, will tell a distinct story. Such a list is, in fact, a collection of short biographies, and will read something like this:—

NAME.	BIRTH AND CIRCUMSTANCE.	DEEDS AND WORKS.	LANGUAGE USED.
Augustine, St.	Roman monk; the first archbishop of Canterbury.	Missionary to Britain, which he enters with a band of monks sent by Pope Gregory the Great; converts the King of Kent and his people.	Latin.
Belisarius.	Thracian; of obscure birth; general of Justinian.	Recovers temporarily for the East—Italy, Africa, South Spain, beating back Goths and Vandals.	Latin.
Benedict, St.	Italian; of wealthy and noble family; hermit.	An eloquent preacher; founder of the sect of Benedictine monks, and of many monasteries, notably that of Monte Cassino, near Rome.	Latin.
Cassiodorus.	South Italian; of wealthy and noble family; minister of Odovaker and Theodoric; afterwards, Benedictine monk.	Author of philosophic and historic works and letters; founds a monastery, for which he collects a fine library of manuscripts.	Latin.
Clovis.	War-chief and king of a great band of Franks.	Conqueror of Visigoth and Burgundian.	Barbarous Latin.

So the list goes on through monks and warriors to the end. With the list before him the student goes to work, and finds two conspicuous facts,—one, the spread of Christianity without the empire; the other, the spread of barbarian power within. He sees that the great men of the age are warrior-barbarians or civilizing monks; that with the latter go the Latin language, the beginnings of art, literature, and law; that over all Europe they are fixing little centres of civilization. He sees that it is a shifting, settling age; that its heroes are the conquering war-chief and the ascetic monk. So much for what the list can teach. Add now, on the one hand, that rough old song of Lodbrok, each stanza ending with the barbarous

war-cry, "We hewed with our swords." In that short but telling original the barbarian speaks for himself, the brave but untamed Teuton. Add for the other aspect of the time, the words of St. Jerome : —

"I sat alone ; I was filled with bitterness ; my limbs were uncomely and rough with sackcloth, and my squalid skin became as rough as an Ethiopian's. Every day I was in tears and groans ; and if ever the sleep which hung upon my eyelids overcame my resistance, I knocked against the ground my bare bones, which scarce clung together. I say nothing of my meat and drink ; since the monks even when sick use cold water, and it is thought a luxury if they ever partake of cooked food. Through fear of hell, I had condemned myself to prison ; I had scorpions and wild beasts for my only companions. . . . My face was white with fasting, my body was cold ; the man, within his own flesh, was dead before his time."

In this brief extract your pupil may discover and touch, as it were, the very soul of the ascetic, — his manner of life, his fears, his hopes.

The advantages of such a method are, that it brings the mind of the pupil into contact with life-giving reality, and trains him to think ; to see in the form the home of the advancing spirit ; to see in the word and act the force and quality of character. Leonidas dying at Thermopylæ, the brave, obedient, laconic warrior, is the embodiment of Sparta. When Socrates says, "The proper jewels of the soul are temperance and justice, courage, nobility, and truth," you see the blossom of a long growth of philosophic thought. When you hear the Romans of the empire address their emperor as "lord and master," "your eternity," and "your magnificence," while that emperor is at the same time the public example of every weakness and vice, how much farther must you go to learn that here you have a despot and his slaves ? Look at the mediæval cathedral, towering high above all else, the work of centuries, adorned with every art : there you have in visible form the power and wealth of the church of the fourteenth century ; but you must hear Wiclif too, and the witty author of *Reynard the Fox*,

and then you shall know that within the bosom of that rich, æsthetic, cathedral-building power, beats a discontented, restless heart that threatens deeds anon.

What should be insisted on is that our pupils do, as far as possible, hear and see the very products of the time and people; that they form their own opinions at this fountain-head of reality before they hear or know the opinions of another: but when they have once done it, the wide world of men and books and action will open to them as never before.

But how can we get such original materials into the hands of our pupils? That is the main question. In Germany and France they have answered it pretty completely by popularly compiled collections of original documents and narratives; even in our own country such reprints are beginning to make their appearance. Still, the teacher must largely depend on his own exertions, and the local library. But if the teacher keeps his eyes open, he will find, now a picture, now an extract, pamphlet, or booklet; and, before he knows it, will have quite a serviceable little collection. Even Plutarch and the Declaration of Independence are better than nothing; and it is a good starting-point to know what you would do if you could.

But it takes more time? Good friend, it does; and it takes more time to solve a problem in arithmetic than to read its answer; and more time to read a play of Shakespeare than to read that Shakespeare was the greatest dramatist of all the ages; and more time to read the American Constitution and the American newspaper, and make up your mind how to vote your own vote, than it does to be put into a "block of five." *But what is time for?*

PART V.

DESCRIPTIVE AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ON METHOD.

THIS Bibliography contains only English titles of which I can speak from personal knowledge; all the more important modern titles are included. I have omitted those of purely historical interest, whose ideas have been outgrown or embodied in recent works. Those who wish to read more deeply on this subject will find the best assistance in English from the books and references of Hall and Hinsdale. If he can read German, he will find his best guide to be Dr. Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, published in a second edition at Leipsic in 1894, and containing in its footnotes and bibliographies a full guide to the Continental authorities. It can be imported directly from the publishers, Duncker und Humblot of Leipsic for about \$3.00, or through Westermann of New York City.

Adams, Charles Kendall. Recent Historical Work in Colleges and Universities of Europe and America. In papers of the American Historical Association, January, 1890.

The title is sufficiently descriptive of this paper, which is detailed enough to be of great practical value in higher instruction. President Adams, who began his career as Professor of History at Michigan University, was called to Cornell as its president in 1885, and is now at the head of the State University of Wisconsin. His work as a scholar has been entirely in the field of history, and he will be remembered as the first to introduce the German Seminarium into the historical work of the American college. Valuable essays of President Adams on method will be found in the Introduction to his *Manual of Historical Literature*, and in Hall's collection noticed below.

Adams, Herbert B. *Methods of Historical Study.* In Johns Hopkins University Studies. Baltimore, January and February, 1884.

This is an extensive description of actual methods employed in seminary work in colleges and universities abroad and in the United States. The essay noted below in Hall's *Methods* is but a condensation of this. A still more extensive and exhaustive study of this same subject, by the same author, appears in the Circular of Information No. 2 of the Bureau of Education, Washington, 1887, under the title, "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities." Herbert B. Adams has been for many years at the head of the department of history in Johns Hopkins University, and has had the training of many of the stronger young men in the field. He has given a great impulse to studies in local American history, has greatly developed the seminary method, and may be regarded as the founder of the American Historical Association.

Andrews, E. Benjamin. *Institutes of General History.* Boston, 1887.

In the first chapter of this book will be found a philosophical discussion of the subject of history and its study, and a useful bibliography of the best German works on these aspects of the subject. President Andrews, now of Brown University, was formerly Professor of Economics at Cornell, and has made history and economics special studies for many years.

Droysen, Johann Gustav. *Principles of History.* *Grundriss der Historik.* Translated by E. Benjamin Andrews. Boston, Ginn, 1893.

This is a most valuable exposition of the deepest philosophical considerations as to the content, the relation, and the method of history. It is the work of the elder Droysen, who died in 1884, and whose long life was devoted to the study of history. He was successively professor at Jena, Kiel, and Berlin; at the latter university he spent a quarter of a century.

Foster, F. H. *The Seminary Method of Original Study in the Historical Sciences, Illustrated from Church History.* New York, 1888.

This book will not disappoint those who wish clear and detailed directions for advanced and original study. For this purpose there is no better guide. Professor Foster, formerly in the theological seminary at Oberlin, is now in the Pacific Theological Seminary in Oakland, Cal.

Fling, Fred Morrow. *The German Historical Seminary.* The Academy, iv. 129, 212.

Two articles descriptive of a German seminary at Leipsic, where Professor Fling, who has the Department of History in Nebraska State University, was a student during 1886 and 1887.

Fredericq, Paul. *The Study of History in Germany and France*, translated from the French by Henrietta Leonard. In *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. viii. Baltimore, May and June, 1890.

Fredericq is professor in the University of Ghent; and these essays were written from personal observation of the most advanced methods. This paper is of great value as an exposition of actual practice in the highest institutions of learning. Law schools are not dealt with. In the same volume is an essay on "The Study of History in Holland and Belgium," and in vol. v. of this same series an essay on "The Study of History in England and Scotland," both by the same author. But their importance is slight compared with that of the first title.

Freeman, Edward A. *Methods of Historical Study*. Eight lectures read before the University of Oxford, 1884. London, 1886.

This book should be thoroughly read by the teacher of history, partly because its large views illuminate and organize the subject, partly because Freeman, as perhaps the greatest of recent historians, has dominated historical thought and method for many years. These lectures were delivered while Freeman was Regius Professor of History at Oxford, and were the ripest result of his thought and work. All his essays have the qualities of breadth, lucidity, and strength, and should be read whenever they apply to the work in hand.

Froude, James Anthony. *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. New York, 1868.

The first of these studies, on "The Science of History," is a plea for the dramatic, biographic presentation of history, and is full of suggestion and inspiration. Froude succeeded Freeman at Oxford as Regius Professor of History, a position held by Gardiner since Froude's death.

Hall, G. Stanley. *Methods of Teaching and Studying History*. Boston, Heath. \$1.50.

The first edition of this work contained a translation of Diesterweg's "Wegweiser," which is regarded as a classic on the subject of method in history in Germany. The essay is of a decidedly philosophical character, and not so practical in its assistance to teachers as the books of Hinsdale and Foster, or as the other essays of this same volume, which are by H. B. Adams, C. K. Adams, John W. Burgess of Columbia, E. Emerton of Harvard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and W. F. Allen, formerly of Wisconsin University. This edition is now out of print; but a second edition has been published, without the Diesterweg, which is a most valuable collection of contributions from American scholars and teachers, and a third is now under way.

Harrison, Frederic. The Meaning of History, and Other Historical Pieces. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894.

These essays will prove rather suggestive and inspiring than directly helpful in matters of detail. Those who cannot see them will find their gist embodied in an article in the *Fortnightly* for October, 1893, entitled, "The Royal Road to History," by the same author. This essay is reprinted in Mr. Harrison's book, and embodies, in a delightful conversation between an Oxford freshman and an Oxford don, the most evident criticisms on the respective views and methods of Freeman and Froude. Harrison's own view is expressed by a London L. C. Oxonian, who maintains that history can only be known in the large by its noteworthy types.

Hinsdale, B. A. How to Study and Teach History. With particular reference to the history of the United States. New York, Appleton, 1894. International Education Series. \$1.50.

States uses of history, defines the field, gives criteria for choice of facts, shows how to organize them, indicates sources of information, describes qualifications of teacher, illustrated from American history. Mr. Hinsdale is Professor of the Art and Science of Teaching at the University of Michigan, and approaches his subject, therefore, much more from the pedagogic side than any of our other authors, except G. Stanley Hall; although he has also made an historical contribution of some importance in the book entitled *The Old Northwest*, and as editor of Garfield's Works. This work on method, as the title-page indicates, is of especial use to the teacher of American history, for which it gives a good deal of general guidance as to organization of material, and many references to authorities.

Howard, George E. The Place of History in Modern Education. In Trans. of the Nebraska State Historical Society, i. 202.

Dr. Howard, now Professor of History in the Leland Stanford Junior University, was formerly in charge of the history work in the University of Nebraska, where he gave a great impulse to the study of local Western history. His essay strongly defines the comparative element in scientific history, and the nature of an institution as an historical object.

Salmon, Lucy. The Teaching of History in Academies and Colleges. In Women and Higher Education. Edited by Anna C. Brackett. New York, Harper Brothers, 1893.

See for same essay, *Academy*, v. 283. See, too, by the same author, the article in the *Educational Review* for May, 1891, entitled, "The Teaching of History in the Secondary Schools." Miss Salmon was one of the first of Presi-

dent Adams's seminary students, and is well known among American scholars by her excellent monographic work. She formerly taught history in the Terre Haute Normal School, and is at present Professor of History at Vassar College. She is, therefore, well fitted to speak upon the subject of her essays, which, although short, are among the best contributions to our subject.

Seeley, Sir J. R. History and Politics. London and New York, Macmillan. Reprinted in Littell, xxvii. 707.

Professor J. R. Seeley, who became famous by his *Ecce Homo*, and who spent the latter half of his life as Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, tries in this essay to define carefully the difference between literary and scientific history.

Stubbs, William. The Study of Mediæval and Modern History. Seventeen lectures delivered in the University of Oxford. The following lectures may be particularized: I. Inaugural; II.-III. On the Present State and Prospects of Historical Study; IV. On the Purposes and Methods of Historical Study; V. Methods of Historical Study; VI.-VII. On the Characteristic Differences between Mediæval and Modern History.

Bishop Stubbs delivered these lectures after he became Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford, and they deal rather with the higher method, therefore rather with the problems that present themselves to the university professor; especially suggestive, however, in his discussion of the relative value of the various periods of history to the student as citizen.

White, Andrew D. European Schools of History and Politics. In Johns Hopkins University Studies. Baltimore, 1887.

A very detailed statement of what is done in Europe to prepare young men definitely for political careers, and a plea for the establishment of similar courses and schools in our own country. See by the same author: "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization." New York, 1885. (Papers of the American Historical Association.) Mr. White's experience as historical professor at Michigan University, as president of Cornell for twenty-five years, as our minister to Germany and later to Russia, and as historical student and writer during his whole active life, gives the highest value to his utterances on the subject of history in its practical relations. He stands, besides, as the leader of those who in America have turned attention rather to the lines of intellectual history. He also looks at history very decidedly from the point of view of the man of affairs, who seeks in history an argument, an example, or a warning.

For the bibliography of this subject in periodical literature, see Poole's *Index*, under the headings, History, Teaching of, Method in, etc. In files of the *Academy* and of the *Educational Review* will be found especially good papers; the Johns Hopkins University Studies, and the Papers of the American Historical Association, will be most useful in keeping the teacher abreast of the most advanced work of the country. The *American Historical Review*, just begun in October of 1895, published by Macmillan, and edited by a board chosen from the historical faculties of Brown, Yale, Harvard, and other leading colleges, promises much.

I much regret that I cannot refer to some work of Ranke's on the subject of method, for Ranke is the master of us all in this last half of the nineteenth century; but from the Appendix to his *History of England in the Seventeenth Century*, I quote the following passage, which gives the key-note to his philosophy, aim, and method.

"In our days historical studies have been directed as never before to the original monuments of the past in every century. The deciphering of Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, the collecting of Greek and Roman inscriptions, the publishing of the records and literature of the Middle Ages, the ransacking of modern archives, — however different may be the objects, the means of study, and even the intellectual capacities employed, — have all the same end; viz., to get free from the trammels of established tradition, to gain a mastery over the immediate circumstances and issues of life, to see the past as a present, as it were with our own eyes. . . .

"All hangs together, — critical study of genuine sources, impartial view, objective description. The end to be aimed at is the representation of the whole truth."

For Ranke's life and work the following articles are the most useful in English:—

Adams Herbert B. Leopold von Ranke. (Biographical and reminiscent sketch with bibliographical notes.) Papers of American Historical Association, iii. New York and London, 1889.

Stuckenberg, J. H. W. Ranke and His Method. *Andover Review*, February, 1887; also an article on Ranke's pupil, Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, in *Nation* of Jan. 30, 1890.

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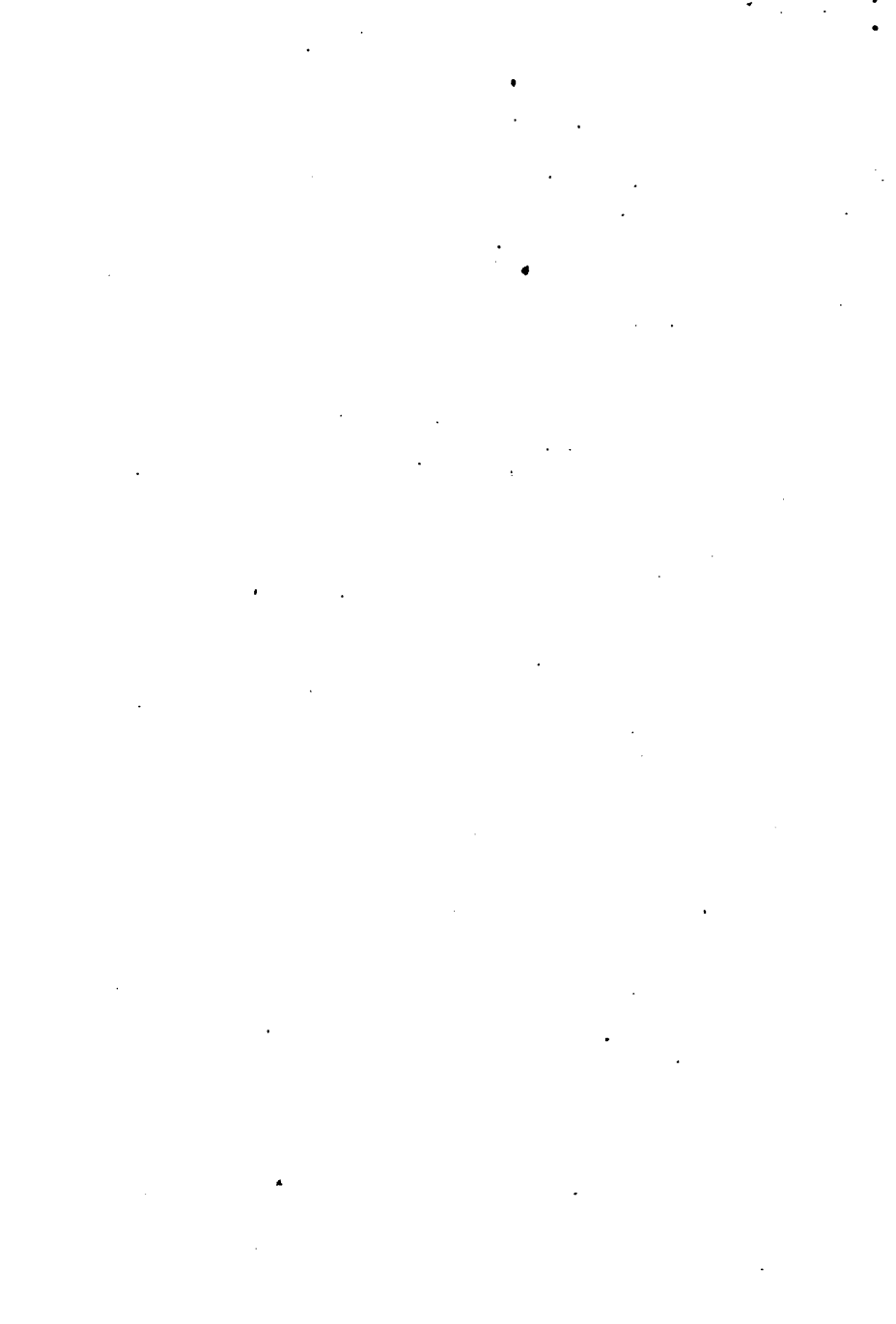
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